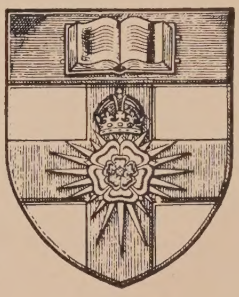
P.P. [Cr-155]



UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
LIBRARY
SHL
WITHDRAWN

P.R. [G-156]

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/massachusetts-historical-society-proceedings_1921-1922_55

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

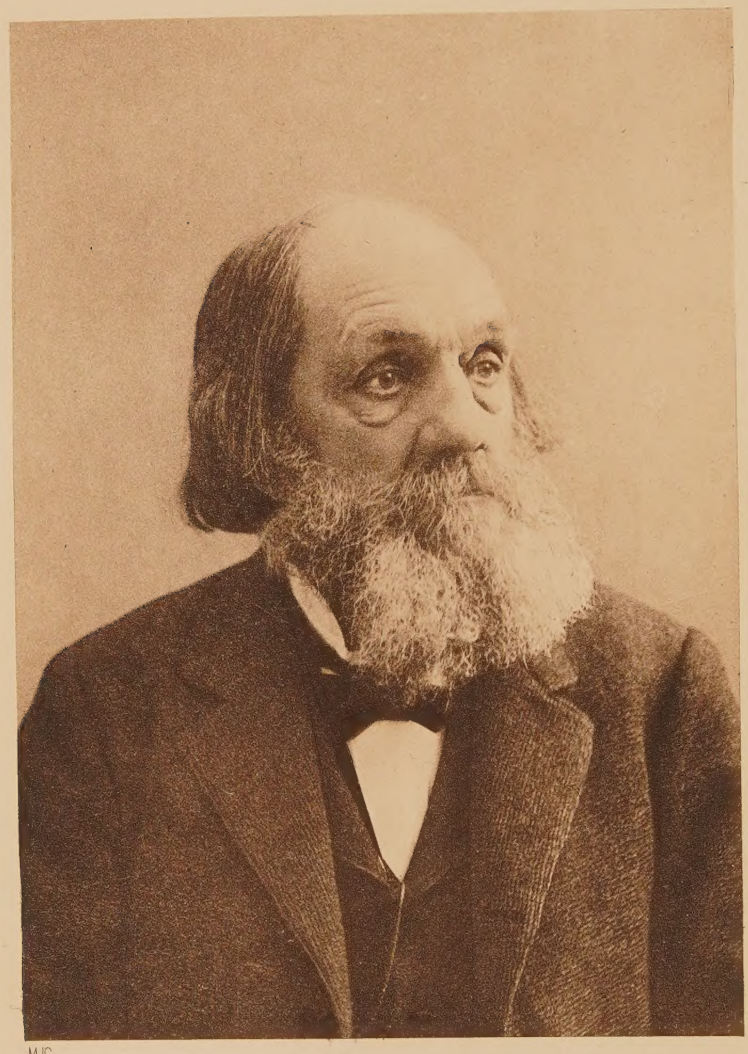
SHL
WITHDRAWN

Committee of Publication.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.
JAMES FORD RHODES.[1]
ARTHUR LORD.[2]
EDWARD STANWOOD.
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

[1] From October, 1921, to April, 1922.
[2] From April, 1922.

SHL
WITHDRAWN



Edward E. Hale

Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

PROCEEDINGS

OCTOBER, 1921 — JUNE, 1922

VOLUME LV

Published at the Charge of the Waterston Fund

Boston
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
MDCCCCXXIII

THE PLIMPTON PRESS
NORWOOD · MASS · U · S · A

11343

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

WITHDRAWN

CONTENTS.

PAGE

ALLEN, GARDNER WELD
Captain Hector McNeill, Continental Navy 46
Almy, William, letter to Elisha Story, 1765 234
ANNUAL MEETING
Report of the Council 290
Treasurer 293
Librarian 301
Cabinet-Keeper 303
Committee on Library 303
Officers . . . . . xi, 305
BIGELOW, MELVILLE MADISON
Memoir by William Vail Kellen 328
BOLTON, CHARLES KNOWLES
Memoir of Edward Hooker Gilbert 199
BRADFORD, ALDEN
Memoir by Samuel Eliot Morison 153
BRYCE, JAMES, Viscount
Tribute by Charles William Eliot 201
Abbott Lawrence Lowell 206
James Ford Rhodes 211
Crevecœur, St. Jean, letter, 1788 42
Davis, Jefferson, letter, 1878 325
ELIOT, CHARLES WILLIAM
Tribute to Viscount Bryce 201
EMERSON, EDWARD WALDO
A Chaplain of the Revolution 8
Emerson, William, a Chaplain in the Revolution 8
FORD, WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY
Tribute to Robert Samuel Rantoul 321
Greeting to James Ford Rhodes 327
Franklin Boston School Medals 189
FROTHINGHAM, PAUL REVERE
Memoir of Edward Everett Hale 307

PAGE

FROTHINGHAM, THOMAS GODDARD
The Effect of the Effort of the United States upon the World War 166
GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY . . . 1, 41, 165, 185, 201, 214, 224, 285, 319, 339
GILBERT, EDWARD HOOKER
Memoir by Charles Knowles Bolton 199
GRAY, EDWARD
Letter of William Almy to Elisha Story, 1765 234
HALE, EDWARD EVERETT
Memoir by Paul Revere Frothingham 307
HART, FRANCIS RUSSELL
Trade with the West Indies 171
KELLEN, WILLIAM VAIL
Memoir of Melville Madison Bigelow 328
KINNICUTT, LINCOLN NEWTON
Tribute by Charles Lemuel Nichols 187
Lafayette, address to 172
Liberty, Seizure of John Hancock's Sloop 239
Livingston, William, papers of 225
LODGE, HENRY CABOT
Return of the Trumbull Papers 30
London Merchants on the Stamp Act Repeal 215
LOWELL, ABBOTT LAWRENCE
Memoir of Barrett Wendell 174
Tribute to Viscount Bryce 206
MCNEILL, HECTOR, Continental Navy 146
Massachusetts, raising Troops in the Revolution 345
MEMBERS, LISTS OF
Resident xii
Corresponding xiv
Honorary xiv
Deceased xvi
MORISON, SAMUEL ELIOT
Memoir of Alden Bradford 153
NICHOLS, CHARLES LEMUEL
Tribute to Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt 187
Papers of William Livingston 225
RANTOUL, ROBERT SAMUEL
Tribute by Worthington Chauncey Ford 321

PAGE

RHODES, JAMES FORD
Tribute to Viscount Bryce 211
Greeting to 327
SHATTUCK, FREDERICK CHEEVER
Cheever-Davis Papers 286
Mathematical Schools, Boston 287
Davis Papers 324
Sims, Thomas, rendition of 340
SMITH, JONATHAN
How Massachusetts raised her Troops in the Revolution 345
STORER, MALCOLM
The Franklin Boston School Medals 189
Letters of the Indian Captive, Mary Storer of Wells 228
STORER, MARY
Letters of 228
SWIFT, LINDSAY
Tribute by George Gregerson Wolkins 6
Trumbull Papers, return of the 30
WARREN, JOHN COLLINS
Children's Story Books 237
WENDELL, BARRETT
Memoir by Abbott Lawrence Lowell 174
West Indies, trade with the 171
WOLKINS, GEORGE GREGERSON
Tribute to Lindsay Swift 6
The Seizure of John Hancock's Sloop *Liberty* . . . 239

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

Edward Everett Hale . . . . . *Frontispiece*

William Emerson 26

Hector McNeill, letter of 81

Naval Contest 92

Alden Bradford 153

Barrett Wendell 174

Franklin Boston School Medals 190

Edward Hooker Gilbert 199

Charles Storer 233

Melville Madison Bigelow 328

OFFICERS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

APRIL 14, 1921.

President

HENRY CABOT LODGE . . . . . NAHANT.

Vice-Presidents

ARTHUR LORD . . . . . PLYMOUTH.
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS . . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

Recording Secretary

EDWARD STANWOOD . . . . . BROOKLINE.

Corresponding Secretary

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER . . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

Treasurer

ALLAN FORBES . . . . . WESTWOOD.

Librarian

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE . . . . . DEDHAM.

Cabinet-Keeper

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS . . . . . BOSTON.

Editor

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD . . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

Members at Large of the Council

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN . . . . . CAMBRIDGE.
RUSSELL GRAY . . . . . BOSTON.
JOHN WOODFORD FARLOW . . . . . BOSTON.
PAUL REVERE FROTHINGHAM . . . . . BOSTON.
FRANCIS RUSSELL HART . . . . . BOSTON.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

1873.

Hon. Winslow Warren, LL.B.
Charles William Eliot, LL.D.

1876.

Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, LL.D.

1877.

John Torrey Morse, Jr., Litt.D.

1882.

Arthur Lord, LL.D.

1884.

Edward Channing, Ph.D.

1889.

Albert Bushnell Hart, LL.D.

1890.

Abbott Lawrence Lowell, LL.D.

1891.

Hon. Oliver Wendell Holmes, LL.D.
Henry Pickering Walcott, M.D., LL.D.

1893.

James Ford Rhodes, LL.D.

1894.

Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.C.L.
William Roscoe Thayer, LL.D.

1895.

Hon. William Wallace Crapo, LL.D.

1896.

Granville Stanley Hall, LL.D.

1898.

Rev. George Angier Gordon, LL.D.
Rev. James DeNormandie, D.D.

1899.

Archibald Cary Coolidge, LL.D.

1901.

John Osborne Sumner, A.B.

1902.

Brooks Adams, A.B.
Grenville Howland Norcross, LL.B.

1903.

Charles Knowles Bolton, A.B.
Ephraim Emerton, Ph.D.
Waldo Lincoln, A.B.
Hon. Frederic Jesup Stimson, LL.B.
Edward Stanwood, Litt.D.
Moorfield Storey, A.M.

1904.

Roger Bigelow Merriman, Ph.D.
Charles Homer Haskins, LL.D.

1905.

Theodore Clarke Smith, Ph.D.
Henry Greenleaf Pearson, A.B.
Bliss Perry, LL.D.

1906.

Edwin Doak Mead, A.M.
Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, Litt.D.

1907.

Jonathan Smith, A.B.
Albert Matthews, A.B.
William Vail Kellen, LL.D.

1908.

Frederic Winthrop, A.B.
George Lyman Kittredge, LL.D.
Charles Pelham Greenough, LL.B.

1909.

Worthington Chauncey Ford, LL.D.
William Coolidge Lane, A.B.

1910.

Hon. Samuel Walker McCall, LL.D.
John Collins Warren, M.D., LL.D.
Harold Murdock, A.M.
Edward Waldo Emerson, M.D.
Frederick Jackson Turner, Litt.D.
Gardner Weld Allen, M.D.

1911.

Henry Herbert Edes, A.M.
George Hubbard Blakeslee, Ph.D.
Richard Henry Dana, LL.B.
Rev. George Foot Moore, LL.D.
Gamaliel Bradford, Litt.D.

1912.

John Spencer Bassett, Ph.D.
Malcolm Storer, M.D.

1913.

Hon. Charles Grenfill Washburn, A.B.

1914.

Zachary Taylor Hollingsworth, Esq.
Chester Noyes Greenough, Ph.D.
Joseph Grafton Minot, Esq.
Samuel Eliot Morison, Ph.D.
Ellery Sedgwick, A.B.

1915.

William Crowninshield Endicott, A.B.
Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham, D.D.
Hon. Robert Grant, Litt.D.
George Parker Winship, Litt.D.
Julius Herbert Tuttle, Esq.

1916.

Ferris Greenslet, Ph.D.
Rev. Charles Edwards Park, D.D.
Francis Apthorp Foster, Esq.
Frederick Cheever Shattuck, M.D., LL.D.

1917.

William Sumner Appleton, A.B.
Charles Lemuel Nichols, M.D., Litt.D.
Lawrence Park, Esq.
Hon. John Adams Aiken, LL.D.

1918.

William Bradford Homer Dowse, LL.B.
William Sturgis Bigelow, M.D.
Russell Gray, A.M.
Hon. Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D.
Hon. Nathan Matthews, LL.D.

1919.

John Woodford Farlow, M.D.
Charles Francis Adams, LL.B.
Robert Gould Shaw, A.M.
Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D.
Lawrence Shaw Mayo, A.M.

1920.

Edward Gray, A.B.
Endicott Peabody Saltonstall, LL.B.
Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., LL.B.
Francis Russell Hart, Esq.
Robert Means Lawrence, M.D.
Harold Clarence Ernst, M.D.
Rev. Henry Bradford Washburn, D.D.

1921.

Allan Forbes, A.B.
George Gregerson Wolkins, Esq.
Thomas Goddard Frothingham, Esq.
William Cameron Forbes, LL.D.
William Bennett Munro, LL.D.
Robert Lincoln O'Brien, Litt.D.
Charles Allerton Coolidge, Art.D.

1922.

Morris Schaff, LL.D.
LeBaron Russell Briggs, LL.D.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1899.

Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., D.C.L.

1904.

Adolf Harnack, D.D.
Rt. Hon. Viscount Morley of Blackburn, D.C.L.

1905.

Ernest Lavisse.

1910.

Eduard Meyer, Litt.D.

1919.

Charles Harding Firth, LL.D.

1921.

Gabriel Hanotaux.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

1878.

Joseph Florimond Loubat, LL.D.

1897.

Hon. Woodrow Wilson, LL.D.

1898.

John Franklin Jameson, LL.D.

1900

Hon. Simeon Eben Baldwin, LL.D.
John Bassett Moore, LL.D.

1901.

Frederic Harrison, LL.D.
Frederic Bancroft, LL.D.
Sir William (James) Ashley, Kt., Ph.D.

1902.

John Bach McMaster, LL.D.

1903.

Rev. Arthur Blake Ellis, LL.B.
Auguste Moireau.

1904.

Sir Sidney Lee, LL.D.

1905.

William Archibald Dunning, LL.D.
Hubert Hall, Litt.D.

1906.

Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin, LL.D.
Hon. Beekman Winthrop, LL.B.

1907.

Wilberforce Eames, A.M.
Sir George Walter Prothero, LL.D.
Hon. Jean Jules Jusserand, LL.D.
James Kendall Hosmer, LL.D.

1908.

John Bagnell Bury, LL.D.
Rafael Altamira y Crevea.
Charles Borgeaud, LL.D.

1909.

Lyon Gardiner Tyler, LL.D.
Clarence Bloomfield Moore, A.B.

1910.

Charles William Chadwick Oman, LL.D.

1911.

Samuel Verplanck Hoffman, Esq.
William Milligan Sloane, LL.D.

1912.

William MacDonald, LL.D.

1913.

John Holland Rose, Litt.D.

1915.

Henry Osborn Taylor, Litt.D.

1916.

George Macaulay Trevelyan, Litt.D.
Charles Downer Hazen, Litt.D.
William Keeney Bixby, LL.D.

1917.

Rt. Hon. Earl of Rosebery, D.C.L.

1918.

Frederick Scott Oliver.

1919.

George Arthur Plimpton, LL.D.
George Russell Agassiz, A.B.
Max Farrand, Ph.D.
Hon. Albert Jeremiah Beveridge, LL.D.
Rt. Hon. Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher, LL.D.
George Lincoln Burr, LL.D.

1920.

Edwin Francis Gay, LL.D.
Hon. Elihu Root, LL.D.
Hon. David Jayne Hill, LL.D.

1921.

Godfrey Rathbone Benson, Lord Charnwood, M.A.
George Burton Adams, Litt.D.
George Peabody Gooch, Litt.D.

1922.

James Truslow Adams, M.A.
George Mackinnon Wrong, M.A.

MEMBERS DECEASED.

July, 1920 — June, 1921.

Resident.

1902,	Edward Hooker Gilbert	Oct. 4, 1921.
1906,	Lindsay Swift	Sept. 11, 1921.
1908,	Robert Samuel Rantoul	May 1, 1922.
1914,	Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt	Dec. 13, 1921.

Honorary.

1896,	James Bryce	Jan. 22, 1922.

Corresponding.

1902,	Albert Venn Dicey	April 7, 1922.
1908,	James Wilberforce Longley	March 16, 1922.
1914,	George Peabody Wetmore	Sept. 11, 1921.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1921.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P.M.; the first Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From the family of Rev. Henry F. Jenks, through his brother Charles W. Jenks, of Bedford, Mass., the manuscript papers of Rev. William Jenks, of his son John Henry Jenks, and of his grandson Rev. Henry F. Jenks, from 1800 to 1903. The collection contains interesting papers relating to the Church in Brattle Square, to the publishing work of John Henry Jenks, and of his successor, Jenks & Palmer, showing letters from S. G. Goodrich ("Peter Parley"), R. B. Thomas, S. A. Godey, G. S. Hillard, Edward Everett, Rufus Choate, Mrs. George Ripley, and Nicholas Vinageras, of Brook Farm, George Bancroft, and others. With these papers are the letter-book of Jeremiah Fitch, 1811–1822, a list of failures in Boston in 1836–1837, and a number of pamphlets, maps and broadsides.

From Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, of Washington, D. C., letters received by William Everett from his sister Charlotte Brooks Everett (Mrs. Henry A. Wise) and from others, 1876 to 1905.

From Miss Josephine MacChord Shaw, additional papers of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw and Samuel S. Shaw, 1761–1908, and the diary of Mrs. John Oakes Shaw, kept in interleaved old Farmer's Almanacs, 1850 to 1879.

From Miss Annie Bradford, of Philadelphia, a number of manuscript papers of her grandfather Samuel Bradford, United States Marshal for the Massachusetts District, running from 1760 to 1797; and a sermon preached at his death in September, 1818.

From Miss Eliza Winslow Eaton Holland, a letter of M. I. Shaw dated U. S. Ship *Columbus,* Valparaiso, December 17, 1846.

From William Brooks Cabot, a photostat copy of his original alphabetical list of about 3700 Indian names of places, and variants, not found in Lithgow's *Dictionary,* with references to authorities.

From Charles Moore, of the Library of Congress, a photographic copy of the "Memoire et Description de l'Acadie par M. Antoine de la Motte-Cadillac, 1692," in the Archives, Marine and Colonies in Paris, relating to Acadia, New England and the coast to the south; also a typewritten copy of "Mr. J. Graves's Acct. of his Voyage, 1755," in his passage from Halifax to New London in a fifty-ton sloop, from the records to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, London.

From Arthur Lord, the Petition of Cornelius White, Ephraim Littel, John Tilden, John Baker, Elisha Foord, Nathaniel Garnet, Stephen Tilden, Joseph Tilden, Warren White, and Sylvanus White, in Plymouth Jail, May 20, 1776, to the Committee of Correspondence and Safety at Marshfield.

From Robert H. Van Court, a letter written by Andrew Jackson to Rev. Alexander Van Court, at Florence, Alabama, dated at the Hermitage, March 12, 1844, relating to the will and estate of General Thomas Overton.

From Zenas A. French, of Holbrook, Mass., a manuscript plan made in 1658, by Andrew Norwood, of land, thought to be north of Great Pond in Braintree.

From Miss Catharine Colvin, Lake Forest, Illinois, letters written by Charles Henry Hart to Charles Henry Savage, of Chicago, 1893–1905; one by J. E. Barr, March 24, 1893, and newspaper cuttings, relating to Edward Savage.

From Miss Mary Woodman, a letter written by Governor John A. Andrew to Cyrus Woodman, January 5, 1865.

From Frank J. Gerwe, manuscripts by Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., on his *A Memoir of the Life of William Livingston* (New York, 1833), and "The Diamond of New Oxford."

From Bennett F. Davenport, papers of Charles, his father, and of himself, relating to Charles River Basin and to railroad cars.

From Miss Elise B. Richards, a pass issued by Gov. John Letcher of Virginia, at Richmond, April 20, 1861, to William B. Richards and family, three days after Virginia seceded from the Union.

From Dr. John W. Farlow, a certificate of membership issued by the Handel and Haydn Society to his father John S. Farlow, February 14, 1840.

From Mrs. Henry P. Kidder, a Bible (Oxford, 1841) given by Millard Fillmore, December 31, 1850, to Miss Dorothea L. Dix, with autograph letter begging her "to accept the accompanying Bible as a slight testimony of my esteem for your active benevolence in the cause of suffering humanity." On July 20, 1882, Miss Dix gave the Bible to Henry P. Kidder, writing on the first flyleaf her autograph inscription to him. The gold clasp bears the inscription "M. F. to Miss Dix. 1851."

From Daniel Kilham Dodge, a letter of Daniel Kilham on the action of the Massachusetts House of Representatives on Rev. Elijah Parish's Election Sermon, 1810.

From Mrs. Leslie C. Wead (Kate H. Whitcomb), Howard Whitcomb, Russell Whitcomb, and Mrs. Alden H. Clark (Mary Whitcomb), children of William Wirt Whitcomb (1833–1914), the Whitcomb family papers (1705–1911), relating to Hingham, Cohasset, Scituate, and Boston; a record of the delivery of copies of the third edition of Wait's *American State Papers*, to subscribers in the West and South; also a Journal of Samuel Whitcomb from Boston to Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee in 1818, and a number of papers on the Workingmen's party in Dorchester.

From Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, a parchment *Testamur* given to Dr. Jacob Bigelow, his grandfather, by the College of Medicine in Philadelphia, dated May 1, 1821.

From John S. Codman, a copy of a letter of John Adams, dated at Quincy, May 15, 1815.

From Clarence S. Brigham, of Worcester, a reproduction of a broadside by Daniel Gookin, dated March 25, 1656, on the removal of English in New England to Jamaica in the West Indies.

From George B. Cutts of Brookline, by deposit, a volume of autograph letters of celebrities, 1674–1918, American, English, French and German, with engravings, and watercolor sketches, collected by members of the Cutts family.

From Mrs. William Robinson Cabot, by deposit, a trunk of about five hundred sermons preached by Rev. John Sylvester John Gardiner (1765–1830) at St. Helena, Dec. 25, 1787, to June, 1791, and at Boston, Sept., 1791, to Dec. 6, 1829, as Assistant Rector of Trinity, 1791 to 1804, and as Rector, 1804 to 1829; also a typewritten copy of the diary of Mrs. William Nye Davis, of Brookline, Jan. 8, 1861, to Jan. 11, 1863.

From Miss Katharine Ellis, of Los Angeles, California, *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, 1163–1820, in thirty-four volumes, London, 1816–1828, with the following inscription:

"To Charles Mayo Ellis, Esq. as a Token of Esteem and Grati-

tude for his manly Service in defending me and the Cause of the Freedom of Speech against the mean and cowardly Attacks of the Kidnapper's Court in Boston, which are this day brought to an appropriate and disgraceful defeat, — from his obliged Friend Theo. Parker, April 12, 1855."

From Charles E. Goodspeed, a printed oration, in verse, lacking the titlepage, evidently delivered on Pilgrim day anniversary, Dec. 22, 1817.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Miss Catharine Colvin, of Lake Forest, Illinois, a number of miniature portraits and engravings by Edward Savage, painter and engraver, and other pieces, bequeathed to her by Charles Henry Savage, his grandson:

Miniature, on ivory, of one of his sons at the age of twenty.

Colored photographic reproduction of a portrait of Savage, by himself.

Colored photographic reproduction of a portrait of Mrs. Savage.

Miniature of his wife, Sarah Seaver Savage (1765–1861), by his grand-daughter, after a painting by Savage.

Portrait of Savage, engraved after a painting by St. Mémin, and three photographs of the same.

Wax portrait of Savage, perhaps by Rauschner.

Watch worn by Savage, showing three circles on the dial face for hours, seconds, and phases of the moon.

Photograph of a portrait of George Washington painted by Savage in 1793, presented to the Art Institute of Chicago by Miss Colvin on February 22, 1921.

Engraving of the family of Washington by Savage; published in 1798.

Engraving of Franklin by Savage, after a painting by D. Martin.

Engraving of the Landing of Columbus by D. Edwin after a painting by Savage; published in 1800.

Engraving of "Liberty" by Savage; published in 1796.

Engraving of "The Eruption of Mount Etna in 1787"; published in 1799, and in colors.

A Franklin Medal awarded to an Edward Savage by the City of Boston at the Dwight School.

From Dr. Howard M. Buck, a recent impression in wax from the matrix of the civil seal of Tangier, 1662–1684, in the possession of a descendant of Col. William Smith of St. George's Manor, Long Island, alias "Tangiers Smith," the last mayor of Tangier; also an impression of the seal of the Council of New England,

1686–7, on a part of an original document with Dudley's signature, which shows the absence of the legend above the head of the Indian, " Come over and help us."

From the family of Rev. Henry F. Jenks, through his brother Charles W. Jenks, of Bedford, Mass., a cannon ball dug up on the old redoubt on Bunker Hill, bearing the broad arrow, supposed to have been fired by a British ship on the morning of June 17, 1775; also a flint from the battlefield of Bennington; an arm rest and number, 33, from a pew in the Brattle Square Church; and several lottery tickets, old bank bills, and medallions.

From the New England Company, of London, an impression in wax of its silver seal of " The Corporation for Promoting the Gospel in New England," used by the Corporation from the date of its Charter by King Charles II until about 1901.

From Dr. Bennett F. Davenport, a photograph of the original color sketch of the proposed Charles River Basin, made by Albert L. Coolidge in 1874, for his father, Charles Davenport, of Watertown, also other photographs and a lithograph relating to the same subject, and cuts of Kimball and Davenport's Cambridgeport manufactory of cars and coaches, 1832 to 1842, and Charles Davenport's Car Manufactory, 1832–1857.

From Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., one of forty gold medals struck by order of the Sergeant-at-arms of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for the Legislative Committee appointed to receive President Wilson on his return from Europe, February 24, 1919.

From Grenville H. Norcross, thirteen photographs, by William T. Clark, of the Frigate *Constitution*.

From the Misses Charlotte Louise and Elizabeth Henshaw Flint, an oil portrait of John Gaspar Spurzheim, owned by their father Dr. John Flint, a personal friend, for whom it was painted.

From Frederick C. Shattuck, a lithographic view of Round Hill School at Northampton, Mass., by Imberts Lithography, New York, inscribed by Peter Guigon, Jr.

From Miss Eliza Winslow Eaton Holland, relics of the Civil War period, old fashioned playing cards, engravings, and a metallic badge " Constitution and the Union."

From Miss Sally F. Shaw, photographs of American celebrities, and five Confederate States bills.

From Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., a photogravure of Chief Justice Marshall from a painting by Henry Inman.

From J. E. Morse, of Hadley, Mass., the Centennial Medal of Amherst College, 1921.

From Dr. Malcolm Storer, the badge of the Convention of the American Numismatic Society held in Boston, August, 1921; and

the silver head of a cane inscribed " Capt. L. L. Goodspeed from Irah Chase Jr. Jan. 1, 1862."

From the Estate of Jane Norton Grew, an engraving of Sir Walter Scott, published by William Darton, London, 1822.

From Austin B. Fletcher, of New York, the Fletcher prize medal in gold of Dean Academy, Franklin, Mass.

From Peleg Coggeshall Chase, of Milton, two bonds, $1000 each, of North Carolina, signed by Zebulon C. Vance as Governor.

From Ludger Gravel, of Montreal, the medal of La Cour des Artisans Canadiens Français of Springfield, of 1914.

From Miss Mary E. Powel, of Newport, R. I., a medal of the Boy Scouts.

From Mrs. H. S. Shaw, of Milton, seventy-one broken-bank bills and some Confederate States currency.

Service medals have been received from the cities of Everett, Fitchburg, and Leominster, and the towns of Marblehead, Millbury, Peabody and Wakefield.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a cable message from Lord Charnwood accepting his election as a Corresponding Member of the Society, and a letter from William Cameron Forbes accepting his election as a Resident Member.

William Bennett Munro, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

George Burton Adams, of New Haven, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Vice-President spoke briefly upon the appointments of delegates to the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments.

The Vice-President announced the death of Ex-Senator George Peabody Wetmore, a Corresponding Member, and of Lindsay Swift, a Resident Member.

Mr. Ford gave a tribute to Mr. Swift and was followed by Mr. Wolkins who said:

Some few words may be appropriately said here of a field which Lindsay Swift made peculiarly his own during his long service at the Boston Public Library. Much of his work, it is true, he carried on in the recessed room, away from public view, but his best qualities were of a kind that the majority of editors and scholars do not specially possess.

The occasions when he particularly evidenced his remarkable aptitude for encouraging the art of writing were his evenings in Bates Hall. Year after year, at least twice a week, to within a day or two of his death, he took his turn at the custodian's desk. He could be expected on the stroke of six o'clock, stepping briskly as one eager for fresh contact with the everyday people to whom the Library owes its chief duty. There, as a diocesan watchful over his clergy, he not only preserved the tradition of personal serviceableness on the part of the library staff, but he made use of that charming talent of human kindliness of which friends everywhere were so often the beneficiaries.

Did a youth but knit his brow over a catalogue Mr. Swift was instant in his attentive, cheery, but earnest "Can't I help you?" Courtesy is to be expected, as matter of course, in such employment, but our associate went far beyond mere civility. He had seen the Library grow from hardly more than a neighborhood service to a great civic department, and he could be nothing less than unswervingly loyal to the mission expressed in its motto, "*Lux omnium civium.*" His warm-hearted sympathies made him immediately responsive to any appeal for assistance, on any subject, whether trivial or no, and among the great company who looked to him as their philosopher and guide there will be those for a generation who will recall the manner and substance of his ministering. Today their number is legion, and they would not wish to be omitted from the circle of those who honor his memory.

When it comes to direct, intimate incentive to younger people, usually of the student age, persons many of whom show but dimly any sign of promise, there are few who have the stimulating power that was possessed and exercised by Mr. Swift. He had unusual faith in the honest purposes of plain people, he believed in their sincerity, he was certain that a little painstaking here and there would contribute to something approaching scholarship; he was certain also that sympathies could be broadened, that one could never be sure that a very slight impulse might not lead to broad cultural consequence, however unengaging the material might appear. His evenings of stewardship in Bates Hall were seminars in the refining value of much reading, and to his

self-appointed task he applied his thoroughness and his fine literary taste with affection and zeal.

A further object, he was fond of saying, was to bring together people who could be mutually helpful. To one of his benevolent instinct, to whom the little distinctions of others were his own sufficient reward, how long must have been the vistas present to his discerning spirit? Who can estimate the number of messages of introduction he wrote? Or the number of young writers whose labored composition he struggled to mould into acceptable "copy." When there was the interest of some protegé to advance, he was as lavish with the resources of his private assemblage of books as with his time, his energy, and his literary skill: not sparing himself he worked hard in this way as in others to enrich the domain of letters.

For this Society he had a high regard. In a letter last spring he wrote, "You will enjoy the spirit of truthfulness and freedom which broods over their meetings." The "spirit of truthfulness and freedom" is something that Lindsay Swift shared in an eminent degree.

Dr. EMERSON read the following paper on

A CHAPLAIN OF THE REVOLUTION.

One hundred and fifty-six years ago a young man was summoned from his teacher's desk in the town of Reading, to take upon his willing shoulders the heavy responsibilities laid down in death by Daniel Bliss, the honored pastor of Concord, Massachusetts.

The days were those from the passage of the Stamp Act to the Declaration of Independence, when a mighty ferment was in the breasts of the people, and the question, alike in Religion and in Politics, was — shall it be Courage or Submission, Independence or Loyalty, the New or the Old?

Let us look backward and see the utterly different conditions then prevailing in New England away from the seaboard. The townships were large then — six miles square at least — but they were self-dependent communities almost purely agricultural and the school of necessity had in the

past century taught these English men and women in each family to be largely their own defenders, providers, mechanics and manufacturers.

The people were of one blood and kindred. A town and parish were one, and usually all the people of a settlement worshipped — and under severe penalty for non-attendance — in the great, wooden, barn-like temple that their fathers built to God.

With the fall of Quebec the fear of the Indian and of the inciting Frenchman, had passed, and the country flourished.

These people called themselves English and spoke of England as "home." Yet each generation of English in America that opened their eyes on its fresh beauty found it harder to understand why the Mother Country should try step-motherly measures on them, and then, as freeborn Englishmen, they felt in honour bound to resist these measures, but at first without thought of Revolution.

Thanks to the intervening miles of woods and swamps and ledges, the towns of this region were not too much under the wing of royal governors and Boston ministers, and from the first had an independent character. Their tone has always been remarkably democratic. They had the good fortune to be unusually free from distinctions of classes, and this shows in the older dwellings, which were comfortable; but Concord, unlike many New England towns of its size, had hardly one even moderately handsome colonial house.

The nearness of the town to Harvard College, where most of its ministers were graduated, modified and humanized the severe type of its Calvinism, as was the case in Eastern Massachusetts generally.

To Concord, then, a town large and important in the Colony, came the young William Emerson. The stirring times he lived in and his own share in the day's work, as citizen, in the exercise of his office in his village and many others, and, later, in the Army, the record he left of these; together with the human picture of the life and home of a young country minister in the 18th century, have led me to believe that the story is of general interest and that I am

not over-stepping the bounds of propriety in presenting to this company these memorials, although of an ancestor.

In Malden (Massachusetts) lived and preached for forty-six years Joseph Emerson (born 1700), fourth in descent from Thomas Emerson of Ipswich, first of the family in the Colony. He was pious, poor and a devoted scholar. He graduated at Harvard College in 1717. He married Mary, daughter of Rev. Samuel Moody, of York, Maine (then Agamenticus), a man earnest, eccentric and humane.

At their marriage a relative had preached a wedding sermon from the text "In the day of prosperity *be joyful,*" but this good man would not deal niggardly with Providence as to what was prosperity. When, three years after their marriage his home burned (1729), he assembled his family — Mary his wife, and Hannah a babe in arms — and sang the hymn "There is a house not made with hands" while it burned.[1]

Mary Moody, Joseph's wife, was a good and sensible woman, a balance-wheel to her husband, and worshipped by her many children, of whom three were, like their father, ministers — Joseph of Pepperell, William of Concord, the subject of this story, and John of Conway. William was born in 1743.

Miss Mary Moody Emerson, William's daughter, who lived to a great age, gave this account of the workings of the Emerson household to us in our childhood. I remember her well.

If it had not been for his mother, my father would perhaps have been killed by confinement when he was a boy. His father, a close and eager student himself, thought the boy ought never to leave his lessons. When William was cocking hay one after-

[1] May I be pardoned for introducing here, because of its quaintness, an anecdote of Father Moody and his son-in-law, though a little irrelevant. It is told that, when the scholarly Joseph carried his wife home to visit, and preached for his father-in-law, the York people praised the sermon so much that Moody, being himself struck with the contrast between the polished style of the written-out discourses and his own rugged and searching harangues, felt it a duty to write out a sermon carefully. He began to read it, but did not prosper; thrust it from him, and cried: "Emerson must be Emerson, and Moody must be Moody! I feel as if I had my head in a bag! You call Moody a rambling preacher, and so he is. But he is just fit to catch rambling sinners like you! You have all wandered from the Lord."

noon his father looked out of the window and called: "Billy! Billy! that is a waste of your precious time. Go back to your books!" But his mother said, "No, it does him good to work a little, he has books enough."

They all believed in poverty, and had no relations with the brother, John of Topsfield, a merchant, a worldly man. My grandfather prayed morning and night that none of his descendants might ever be rich.

The young William, spurred by his father and spared by his mother, went to Harvard College and graduated in 1761. It is said that he first taught school in Roxbury, thence he went to Reading, to teach and, while there, it appears was seriously weighing the question of becoming a minister of the Gospel. For we have this letter inserted because of its flavour of old-time piety and simplicity, written from Malden, October, 1763, in which the delighted father — pious man of books and pens — writes:

Dear Son,

I send you one of ye choicest Books I have in my Library and commend more especially the Reading of ye 10th Discourse to you (or rather ye Discourse upon ye 10th text) which begins at p. 353, which *exceeds,* far exceeds, and therefore will in a great measure *supersede* what I can write upon so important and interesting a Point, and, I might add, so *seasonable* a one, especially for you.

Dear Child, your Mother and I are not little concerned for you. It was with a special view for the *Ministry* that we have been at so great an expense for your Education: If therefore your Genius and Disposition leads to it, and you should be qualified for it, both as to Gifts and Graces, it would be an inexpressible Addition to our Comfort and Joy. I believe if you should attentively read ye whole Book, your time w'd be well spent. We earnestly commend you to God, and rest

Your very affectionate Parents

J. } Emerson
M. }

P. S. Due Respects to your Landlord and his Spouse. If you could make and send me two or three more of such Pens as you

last made for me, yt would be very acceptable. I think I scarcely ever wrote with Pens that suited me quite so well.

Not only this letter, but what we know of his immediate future, shows that William had already made studies to that end, for within a year we find him preaching frequently, and a candidate at Concord.

His diary of 1764 is preserved. In this we find him teaching school, now in the Meeting-house in Reading Centre, then for four months each in different districts of the town. His preaching is "attended with remarkable success." Before the small-pox prevented going and coming, he was fortunate enough to go to Boston and "bought a musselin gown; price £22–10–". History repeats itself, and the youth enters in his Diary, "Borrowed a *Johannes* of my Pater; went to Cambridge." He seems to have the pleasantest relations with the Reading people, and attends weddings and barn-raisings and holds singing-meetings at the school-house, all of which are recorded in his Diary. The man of the gown did not neglect his duties to the State, and was not above enjoying them, for we find in May, "Training at Col. Nichols's. Paraded with the company: parade far beyond expectation. Dined at the Colonel's with Mr. Hobby, Mr. J. Emerson and the officers."

In May, after a visit to Malden to be received into full membership of his father's church, he goes up to his brother Joseph's, in Pepperell, and preaches in his pulpit, apparently his first sermon. Was "unexpectedly composed"; and next month preaches for his friends and neighbors in the church in Reading.

But just after assuming charge of the school at the Precinct, on returning from a ride to a neighboring town, he finds, "A man from Concord at my landlord's who came to engage me to preach four Sabbaths: very much at a stand what to do." Rev. Daniel Bliss, the pastor of Concord, had died in May. Next day he writes: "Concluded upon the whole to engage half the time," gets a substitute in the school and goes home to "study closely" and write the sermons. He preached in Concord, July 8th, and evidently pleased the people, for he writes in the diary, "After Exercise the Young Men appealed to me to preach a sermon to them."

Thus encouraged, and helped out by his father and brother by exchanges, the young man gave such satisfaction that this provisional engagement was prolonged. But, now that he is found out, invitations come in from all quarters, and hardly a Sunday passes without duties for him in towns, from Concord to Cape Ann.

These calls justified his buying a horse, bridle and saddle and bags; and indeed the amount of riding done during this year on horses borrowed, hired or bought, on excusions, sometimes for duty, sometimes for social or family purposes, is astonishing.

When he went to Concord he lodged with Madam Bliss, the widow of the lately deceased pastor, and there he quickly established relations that passed from the friendly to the filial. A few weeks after his first coming to preach he records: "Aug. 21. Rid out with Mrs. P. [Mistress Phebe]; a pleasant ride"; and again, in the end of September he comes to Concord for Sunday; but on Monday does not, however, set out for Malden. He writes, "Oct. 1st. Tarried at Concord: P. M. Rode round the new Square with ——. Waited upon the Committee; agreed to supply the pulpit among them two months from November." In February, 1765, he was invited by the Church of Concord, to become their Minister; this action was confirmed by the Town at their March meeting, and on the 1st of January, 1766, he was ordained Pastor, he being then in his twenty-third year.

Mrs. Bliss received her husband's successor as an inmate of her household. The hospitable house with its massive timber-walls, once the central garrison-house, or fort, of the town, but modified by Daniel Bliss and his successors, is still standing.[1] In those years it was no Castle of Dulness. Sons and daughters were there; interesting young people and full of life, some of them older and some younger than the new comer.

On August the 21st, "after the Thursday lecture," William Emerson married Mistress Phebe, and they continued

[1] On Main Street next the Bank. It was occupied, in succession, in the 19th century by Dr. Hurd and Dr. Barrett, and is now owned by Mrs. Holland.

to live at Madam Bliss's for a time. We have a remarkable and touching picture of this household in the words of his daughter, Miss Mary Moody Emerson:

They all lived together there while the Manse was building — they made one happy family together. At that time Hannah Bliss, the oldest daughter, the darling of them all, had gone to Springfield with her lover to visit his relatives. It was Court week in Concord and a great holiday, and they were all in the kitchen together making preparations. My grandmother Bliss was making the pastry, and the others were cooking, when my father [i.e., William Emerson] came into the kitchen, walked up to her and said, "Madam, prepare for heavy tidings." She took her hands — all flour — out of the pan and knelt right down on the kitchen floor: then she stood up and said, "I am ready." And he told her that Hannah's lover had tried to ford the Connecticut at the wrong place and the river was high, and the current had drawn her right out of the chaise and swept her away, and horse and chaise too, and her lover hardly got to land himself, and was crazy. He ran into the town calling out, "Woman drownded! Woman drownded!" My father was a man of deeds. In ten minutes the saddle was on the horse, and he in the saddle and started for Springfield to see what could be done. But they did not find her.

It appears from William Emerson's letters that his relations with the Bliss family were close and pleasant. Yet, year by year a sword was forging, which was to shear and sunder the closest bonds of family and friendship. Of his Bliss brothers two in the day of trial chose the service of the King and two that of their Country; and the Minister, an eager Son of Liberty, must have had more to do with Thomas Theodore, and Samuel, then a patriot, both of whom at the time of the Boston Massacre — so-called — had come near being victims. I find this letter from William Emerson to his wife:

PORTER'S ON WENHAM,
Fryday 4 o'clock

DEAR MRS. EMERSON: — Thro' ye goodness of God, our hon'd Mother, Sister Ruthe, and myself are thus far on our journey to Newbury-port: was at Boston yesterday — scarcely arrived in Season to see ye awful & solemn Procession — extremely affect-

ing. 4 Persons buried in ye same Grave with young Snider, & a Monument (I understand) is to be erected over them to perpetuate their Memory as Martyrs in ye glorious Cause of Liberty! But however affecting such a scene as the Murder of ye 4 abovementioned, yet to you & I it is more sensibly felt, & ought to be gratefully resented, — the very wonderful Preservation of our dear Brethren Theo'r. and Sam'll: Before these lines reach you, you will hear Particulars concerning the imminent Danger they were in. I was almost overcome with a Relation of the tragical scene — may it deeply impress their minds. . . . From your affectionate Husband,

W. Emerson

Of William's letters to his family it may be said that they are human and affectionate, often with a playful element, and in marked contrast to so many 18th century New England letters abounding in religious exhortation or stilted rhetoric, to the exclusion of all human interest.

As pastor and preacher there seems to be much evidence that the young minister of Concord was not only well read, but zealous and much in earnest, and that he spared himself no pains to win the ears and the hearts of his people. Writing to his brother John, of Conway, Massachusetts, he apologizes for the shortness of his letters, because, he says, he writes his sermons out first and then commits them to memory that he may deliver them with more effect.

He so forcibly urged good life, and dwelt so little on Grace in some sermons which I have seen, particularly those to the soldiers, that, it is to be feared he would not have satisfied his predecessor who, stirred up by Whitefield, was more severely Calvinistic, and extolled Grace over works in sermons so emotional, and even noisy, that they gave offence to many, and had caused a division in his church so serious that in its settlement by Councils, nearly every church in that part of Massachusetts was drawn into its widening vortex.

The young Pastor unfortunately inherited, with the church, the smouldering remnants of this conflict, and the trouble with the few "aggrieved brethren" lasted until the new issues brought on by the coming war drove the old out of

sight. Happily, in his last years, pastor and people were in entire good will with each other.

Meantime he had bought the pleasant fields [1] beyond the village sloping to the Musketaquid or Concord River, close beside the North Bridge, and built there (about 1769) the comfortable Manse (later when mosses of age had greened the gambrel roof, to be celebrated by Hawthorne) with pleasant little rooms to suit his wife's fancy — a nest for his Phebe-bird as he affectionately calls her in a letter — and at the outbreak of the war he had a boy of five years and three little girls. Here he studied and wrote and prayed; here he grew his corn and peas and hay, pastured his horse and few sheep; here on Wood-Day his people brought him his 25 or 28 cords, and here also, as they came on foot, on horseback, or in high chaises, he entertained his numerous relatives, the brother ministers, and the bold spirits of the day, who came to talk on the startling condition of the Province and the duties of the people.

The storm was gathering fast; but, with each new attempt upon their liberties, the courage and determination of the people became more apparent. The months of 1774 drew the patriots in all the towns nearer together in the common cause. Covenants against consumption of tea were entered into. The whole town resolved itself into a Committee of Safety. The Provincial Congress met in Concord in the autumn (William Emerson acting as their chaplain). The town was chosen as an important inland settlement, far enough from governor and garrison, to be safe, and yet not inconveniently remote. Cannon and powder, ball and grape-shot were bought and brought to Concord, and the October sun shone on a flag floating from a Liberty Pole set up by the people on the hill over the graves where rested the dust of their fathers.[2]

[1] From Daniel Brown, the "Blood Place," named from a family only extinct about 1880, just beside the North Bridge, then the only bridge over the main river; the South Bridge crossing the Musketaquid above the town.

[2] The Flag at this time was the British Ensign with "Union and Liberty" or other motto. The Federal flag, first used, was the British Union Jack, i.e., St. George's Red Cross, with St. Andrew's white diagonal and St. Patrick's white cross beneath. The Federal flag, thirteen stripes and British Union Jack, was first hoisted near Boston, January 1, 1776; Stars and Stripes, 1777.

Each page in the minister's brief diary shows his interest and activity in his Country's cause.

1775

Jan. 12th Lecture. Preached from *To see Thy Power and Thy Glory.* Training for the purpose of enlisting Minute Men (Unsuccessful.)

15th Communion Day Preached from I Corinthians, 6th, ult. Ye are bought with a Price (therefore glorify God in your Body and your Spirit wh. are God's) P. M. Mr. Minot from "Lord increase our faith."

16th The Minute Men enlisted to the No. of 40 or 60.

31st 100 Minute Men in Arms recruited in the week. A Multiplicity of Town Meetings and Trainings and other Meetings of various kinds. Much time spent in Military Maneuvres.

March 13th. A general Review of Arms in Concord; Preached to the soldiers from II Chronicles, 13, 12. "Behold God himself is with us for our Captain and his priests with sounding trumpets to cry alarm against you." The last part of the text he applies to the British Parliament and Ministry "to their immortal infamy committing Treason against the Constitution of the Colony," that solemn compact between Prince and subjects. "O Children of Israel fight ye not against the Lord God of your fathers, for ye shall not prosper."

I wish that time would permit my reading this spirited exhortation to the Provincial recruits. As utterly assured as any soldier of Cromwell in the faith of that day that the righteous cause *must triumph,* not in the end, but at once, unless its soldiers *by their sins* brought chastisement on themselves, he shows how Abijah, beset in front and rear by Jeroboam with an enormous army, outnumbering his own by two to one, *because God was with him,* utterly overthrew them. He cheers the village soldiers with the assurance that God will fight for them, *if each will but do his faithful duty.* Then extolling the duty of a true soldier's calling, he very sensibly (evidently knowing well the besetting sin of the New England soldiers) shows him the absolute necessity of thorough training, prompt obedience and unquestioning subordination, and also of a temperate and God-fearing

conduct. That is his part: God will do the rest. He explains to them that their rights have been invaded, and that they cannot properly be called rebels, and that, though their fathers did not live to see this evil day, he believes that they foresaw it, and took every means in their power to guard the infant state from the encroaching arm of unconstitutional power, and to leave their children free from shackles which they themselves escaped by venturing over into the American wilderness. "No, my hearers!" he says, "let us not be more unkind to the generations yet to be born than our fathers were to us, lest in time to come they rise up and call us cursed." He looks at the prospect and admits its gloom.

Yes, to tell you the truth, if I thought you could possibly be innocent and stand unconvicted in the eye of Heaven, if you dropped your weapons and submitted to the late Bill for the alteration of the Constitution, I would immediately change my voice and preach to you the *long-exploded doctrine of Non-resistance.* But as an honest man and as a minister of Jesus Christ, as a servant of Heaven, I dare not do it. As a friend to righteousness, as a priest of the Lord who is under the Gospel Dispensation, *I* must say — *The Priests blow the trumpets in Zion — stand fast — take the Helmet, Shield and Buckler and put on the Brigandine!*

Arise! my injured countrymen! and plead even with the sword, the firelock and the bayonet, plead with your arms the birthright of Englishmen, the dearly-purchased legacy left you by your never-to-be-forgotten Ancestors. And, if God does not help, it will be because your Sins testify against you: otherwise you may be assured. But . . . let every single step taken in this most intricate affair be upon the defensive. God forbid that we should give our enemies the opportunity of saying justly that we have brought a civil war upon ourselves by the smallest offensive action.

From the *Diary* I read:

March 13th A general review of arms was held in Concord. (Inspection.)

March 22 Congress set in town. Refreshing news from home. Great appearance of a change in our public affairs.

April 3d. This month is ushered in with the alarming news of 15 Regiments of British troops on their Passage to Boston,

which with the 11 already there, will amount to 10,000. The Congress continues their Sessions in this town.

9th. Some hopeful symptoms respecting our Public Affairs.

But, in these very days, Captain Brown and Ensign de Berniere of the King's Troops were visiting the village in disguise, the guests of Emerson's brother-in-law. Daniel Bliss, the leading lawyer of the town, a man of great influence and good repute, who had done his best in the excited town-meetings to hold Concord loyal, and, with an eloquence that made his hearers turn pale, had pictured the crushing power with which a justly-incensed Kingdom would, within a twelvemonth, bring her handful of rebel subjects to their knees. These officers noted the topography of the town exactly, and learned what stores, ammunition and cannon had been gathered there by order of the Provincial Congress. Mr. Bliss lived in a small house near his mother's. In the talk, one of the officers said, " But your people will not fight." Bliss pointed out of the window at his brother, Thomas Theodore, just then passing, and said, " There goes a man who will fight you in blood up to his knees."

Daniel, whose life had been already threatened, should he venture to leave town, fled with the officers on their return, and his estate was the only one confiscated in Concord. He spent the rest of his days in Halifax and was rewarded for his loyalty. Thomas Theodore became an officer in the American army and was captured and held prisoner during the war.

The Nineteenth of April came and with its small hours of the morning, not Paul Revere, who never " Crossed the bridge into Concord town " (for he was captured just beyond Lexington, within the limits of Lincoln, by a British picket), but Samuel Prescott, a young Concord doctor. He had been spending a long evening with Miss Mulliken, a young lady of Lexington, and when Revere and Dawes brought the news, learned it at the Tavern. He mounted and rode with them, but when the picket rushed out on their party, leaped the wall and rode across country, around through Lincoln and brought the startling news to our village.

At three o'clock the iron tongue of the church bell with rapid and heavy strokes called Concord to wake to its great opportunity. Minute-Men and Militia gathered fast on the Common, messengers were sent to Lexington to verify the news of the coming of the Regulars, and rode fast to call in the aid of the sister towns, a call instantly responded to by their armed sons.

Old Colonel Barrett began to send cannon and ammunition to the remoter towns for concealment, and some were hastily buried in dung-heaps or in some field, which was then ploughed to cover the signs of digging.

A Concord veteran telling to George Bancroft the story of that day, said that at the first alarm William Emerson promptly appeared with the others, his firelock in his hand.

Some years ago I heard from Professor Butler, in the University of Wisconsin, that his father used to tell him of an old man in Rutland, Vermont, who in his younger days worked in Concord. This man related how when on the 19th of April he stood in line with the others at sunrise, on the Green, and saw the British column turn the corner (Heywood's), seven hundred strong (grenadiers brilliant with steel and scarlet, their light infantry thrown out as flankers on the ridge of hills above the road), he felt as if he should die if he could not get away. But just then the minister, walking along behind the line, laid his hand on his shoulder and said, "Don't be afraid, Harry; God is on *our* side," and after that his mortal fear passed away. The minister is said (by Shattuck in his history) to have been one of those who rashly advised standing and abiding the issue in the town, notwithstanding the great odds in numbers. "If we are to die, let us die here," are the words reported of him. Fortunately some of the old Indian-fighters had a better plan.

Lincoln (in less stirring times united with Concord in military service) had promptly sent her brave company to aid her sister in her dire need, and Eleazer Brooks, later a Colonel in the Provincial Army, said wisely, "No, it will not do for us to begin the war." Word of the attack by the Regulars on Captain Parker's Company on Lexington Green, dyed with the blood of its martyrs, had not yet come. For-

tunately the prudent counsels prevailed and the Provincial force fell back beyond the river to wait for reinforcements.

The only road across the main river led by the minister's house, "The Manse," and here his people, some of the officers, urged him to stay, as a clergyman and non-combatant could properly do. He was reluctant, for he identified himself with the soldiers, but here was his delicate and frightened wife and his four little children with no other protector than he, except a black-man, a former slave, who, axe in hand, at the first alarm had burst into Mrs. Emerson's room crying "the Red coats have come," at which news she had fainted.

Meantime alongside the retreating Minute-Men came many women and children, falling back from the town now occupied by the royal troops (already rolling flour-barrels into the mill-pond and burning cannon-carriages): yet down the road could be seen the scarlet of six British companies following to the Bridge.

William Emerson's duty was clear. He stayed close by his house to guard his family; first feeding the frightened women and children that took sanctuary in his yard and, later, eagerly watching the yeomen of Middlesex gathered in council on the hill opposite, by Major Buttrick's house. For the British soldiers had passed the Manse and occupied the Bridge-head. Mr. Emerson was beside the enemy within half a musket-shot of them. For a man who had used all his influence to bring on the Revolution, there was perhaps as much danger on his premises with the soldiers there, as with the Minute-Men on the hill.

Concord's little force stood on the Buttrick farm on the hill beyond the river,[1] but her children, the villages of Lincoln, Acton, Sudbury and Carlisle, with neighbors — Chelmsford, and Westford — had hurried their sons to help her in her dire need. Suddenly a column of smoke rose over the town from burning cannon-carriages. Joseph Hosmer, the adjutant, shouted, "Are you going to let them burn the town?" The yeomen officers looked at each other. Davis, the Acton Captain, said, "I haven't a man that's afraid to go," and Major John Buttrick led his homespun-clad column

[1] Still owned and occupied by the family, represented by Stedman Buttrick, great-grandson of the Major.

— Acton and Concord men — down on to the causeway, marching beside Davis, who had the post of honor. As they came, the red-coats fell back to the hither shore and formed in haste, imperfectly deployed, mainly in column. They fired a warning shot or two; then the whole front flashed, and Davis and a private fell dead.

Then Major Buttrick knew his time was come — "Now, fire, soldiers, for God's sake! — FIRE!" The smoke cleared: two English soldiers lay dying. Four of their eight officers were wounded.

One point in the Concord fight has never been fully appreciated, this namely: When Major Buttrick was ordered by Colonel Barrett to carry the bridge to save the town, he was also under orders *not to fire first;* so he, with Captain Davis, headed a charge by Acton and Concord men, of whom only the former had bayonets. Buttrick *stuck to his instructions, and received on the open causeway the English volley at but forty paces distance before he gave the order to fire.* William Emerson, looking on, said next day that he was exceedingly anxious first, lest the Minute-Men should fire first, then, lest they should not return the fire.[1]

But a reaction followed inevitably. Captain Laurie, commanding the British troops at the bridge, fell back with his contingent towards the town. He did not wait for the return of his other companies sent up to Colonel Barrett's farm. Our people followed him across the bridge without waiting to waylay this contingent, but fell back to the hill opposite the Manse and allowed these companies to cross the bridge and rejoin their regiment in the town. Our people had had enough for the moment and were, so to speak, gasping at what they had done. Though they had not shed the first blood, they had committed treason and were plunged in civil war, and here at their feet lay British officers and soldiers dead and wounded by their fire.

Without being led too far away from the subject of this memoir, we must pay a short tribute to the Regulars. Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn accomplished, as far as conditions allowed, the search for and destruction of war

[1] It is pleasant to say that descendants of William Emerson and Phebe Bliss, still own the Manse, essentially unchanged.

material and supplies, yet treated the inhabitants humanely, and conducted a very difficult and valiant retreat. When Lord Percy received the retiring column at East Lexington, they had been fighting steadily for eight miles with constantly renewed antagonists, were utterly exhausted, and had but a few cartridges left. Moreover, the command had, without sleep, marched by night twenty miles to Concord.

What was the result of the expedition? It marched before dawn to snuff out Yankee rebellion. It reached protection by the guns of the *Somerset* man-of-war, barely escaping capture by the troops of Essex County, in the evening. Thereafter Boston was in a state of siege until its evacuation, eleven months later.

A few days later the Minister writes in his journal: "Attend prayers at the Meeting-house with seven hundred soldiers from the frontier towns. Went to Cambridge and Malden. The whole country universally alarmed." He concludes: "This month remarkable for the greatest events taking place in the present Age." In June he visited the camp at Cambridge several times, and dined at headquarters.

During the whole period of the siege of Boston, Mr. Emerson was most active, in the pulpit of Concord and other towns, and also in the saddle. From before the war until the time of his death he was an eager Son of Liberty. A horseman from choice, as well as necessity, his rides to preach or on public business extended far and wide. In the records of the Provincial Congress we find the following: June 1st, 1775. Mr. Emerson asked through Colonel Barrett, the delegate from Concord, "for the use of one of the horses, taken from the Regulars, during the absence of the Hon. Thomas Cushing, who has Mr. Emerson's horse now in the public service." The petition was granted. Emerson, however, was to maintain this desirable sorrel horse.

Diary, "June 17th. This morning the King's troops drove us from our entrenchments at Bunker Hill. . . . the Militia goes down to the Army." Next day he writes that in the fight "ye enemy killed 50 men, and wounded many more: ye loss on their side is computed as 12 to 1, at ye very lowest."

In a letter written to his wife soon after the Battle of Bunker Hill, the chaplain expresses his belief that a little

more energy and good strategy could have, at the time, retaken the hill (now heavily fortified) because of the great losses of the British in the taking of it. "But He who gave courage to the party that first engaged the enemy was pleased as remarkably to withhold it from those who were sent to their relief. . . . Court Marshals are setting every day calling Colonels, Captains, &c., to acc't for their cowardice." This was during the general confusion before General Washington took command and unified the Army.

July: "Tarried this week in the Army as Chaplain: prayed with Colonels Nixon's and Woodbridge's Reg'ts every morning before sunrise, and eve 6 o'clock."

Then he returns to Concord and does his haying. From a long letter describing the motley houses and tents of the army investing Boston the following is worth preserving:

> Last Saturday, visited ye camp, or rather wigwams of ye Indians who are under ye care and Government of Colonel Patterson, who informed me to my great satisfaction yt yy were wholly under his control. They are permitted to live by themselves in a very thick wood that belongs to Inman's Farm. . . . They have some of them bro't their squaws and papooses with them. I had the pleasure of sitting down with 'em at a fine mess of clams, cooked and eat in ye true genuine Indian taste. I wish you had been there to see how generously they put their fingers into ye dish and pic't out some of ye largest clams to give me, and with what a fine Gust I eat them. . . .
>
> Yesterday morning, was disagreeably surprized by finding no difference in this, from other mornings as to ye Drums beating, Fifes playing, Regiments maneuvring, men working at ye Entrenchments, &c. . . . The General has issued orders yt ye Fast be strictly kept ye next Thursday, and no work be done at ye Forts, if it can possibly be avoided.

During the winter and spring he is hard at work preaching, often exchanging, and glad of the opportunity of consulting with leading men of other towns.

March 17th. "This morning the Ministerial troops left Boston in confusion and Disorder. Deo Gratias!"

April 19th. "This ever memorable Day was noticed by meetings for Public Worship and a memorial of the transactions of that Day." William Emerson gave the sermon.

In this enthusiastic and perhaps over-triumphant address, celebrating the victory of the year before, it is interesting to note the growth of public opinion in thirteen months. Our people are no more subjects, showing their loyalty to the British state by demanding the Constitutional rights of Englishmen, but they are Americans, at war with England, and proudly sure of their independence and great future.

The Anniversary of this day, my countrymen, though it cannot be said to be a morning without clouds, yet methinks the clouds are morning ones, that will soon pass away. Britain's tyrannic power, however hard to bear, has taught us lessons we should ne'er have learned without her, has taught us our own strength and how to live without her. She'll sway her iron sceptre over this world no more, a glory this too bright for all but those who hold the golden sceptre of peace and righteousness.

In summer Mr. Emerson notes the bringing into Concord, as prisoners, of the Highland regiment of Sir Archibald Campbell (Fraser Highlanders). They were confined in the jail. They had sailed into Boston Harbor not knowing of the evacuation.[1]

July 25th. The companies from Concord and Medford being ready to march to Canada, Captain Miles paraded them before the meeting and they went in and attended lecture, William Emerson preaching from the text, "And in War he shall redeem thee from the power of the sword."

On Sunday, August 4th, ten days later, he asked leave of the Church and Town, and obtained it by their votes, to "go as a Chaplain into the Continental Army, they to supply the pulpit." His youngest child, a little daughter, was born three days after this, and he only waited to assure himself that his wife was regaining her strength before following his Regiment.

We can see the picture. The Chaplain, still young, vigorous and hopeful, riding away from the Manse on the captured "sorrel horse" which the Provincial Congress had granted him to use, with valise and saddle-bags behind him.

[1] The story of this incident was carefully investigated and written by Mr. Charles Hosmer Walcott, of Concord, who found both here and in Scotland very interesting material for his book.

He was dressed in a long black coat of which he laughingly complains to his wife in a later letter that he shall be ashamed among the Military gentlemen, and begs her to turn his blue one, shorten its skirts, and face it with black. He perhaps wears a plain cocked-hat, and possibly a sword, for it is mentioned in the appraisal of his effects. The story which has been handed down at the Old Manse is that when he reached the gate-posts, he stopped and looked back between the rows of young ash-trees at his pleasant home, as if he should never see it again. The children, little Billy,[1] Hannah, Phebe and Polly,[2] with Madam Bliss's Phillis, perhaps a slave in earlier times, and her baby, and Frank, the blackman of the axe, very likely stood by the door, and the delicate wife Phebe with her new-born baby at the upper window.

Then he rode away to his duty and living or dead did not return.

From Acton, the next town, he writes to his wife the words which his tongue refused to say at their parting.

White's Tavern

Dear Mrs. Emerson

Thro' Mercy have got out of ye bounds of Concord & I find my Spirits rise upon it. 'Tis harder parting with my Family & Flock than perhaps You are aware of. I don't know but You are affronted with me for Leaving You so abruptly, but really 'tis too much to take a formal Leave, without it be in this Way. And now, *Goodb'ye* i.e. *God be with You,* my dear, this is my Prayer, & ye Prayer of all our dear Pious Friends: . . . I can't but hope yt You at home, & I abroad shall reap ye Benefit of our kind Friends' interceding for us at ye Throne of Grace, especially when we keep in ye Way of Duty. I trust yt I am, while I pursue my Journey, & You are, while You rely upon ye love of a kind, watchful Providence for yourself, & for our dear little Ones, & ye whole Family.

And now, my dear, deliver ye foll'g Salutation & Directions to ye respective Persons to whom they are assigned & You'll oblige

[1] Later Rev. William Emerson, first a minister in Harvard, Mass., thence called to be the minister of the First Church in Boston.

[2] Polly was Miss Mary Moody Emerson, an eccentric woman of great eloquence and piety, constantly alluded to in Mr. R. W. Emerson's letters and journals. See also his account of her in his *Miscellanies.*

Rt. Hon.ble William Pitt

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Your [husband]: — My Love to Billy, & tell him to read a Chapter in ye Family, (when ever his mamma is able to bear it,) ev'ry Morn'g except when there is some Body else can do it better.[1]

My Love to *Hannah*, & tell her she must mind what is said to her, & every body will love her. My Love to Phebe & tell her she must learn her Book. My Love to Nurse & tell her to stay till I come back. Love to Ruth, & tell her to be careful, active & complying; to Frank, & tell him to cutt up ye Wood if he has Time & take Care of ye Hay in ye Barn, & ye Flax on ye Grass, & ye Corn in ye Field, yt yy be kept out of Harm's Way. . . .

From every stopping-place on his northward journey came affectionate, cheerful and sometimes entertaining letters to his wife. In one was evidently enclosed some verses to amuse his little William. In a long and cheerful letter from Ticonderoga (Aug. 26th, 1776) to his wife he says:

" Gen. Brickett's brigade which might have been Gen. C's.[2] are encamped by 'emselves, consisting of about 2 or 3 thousand Men and stationed upon ye North Side of ye Lake together with ye Southern Troops above-mentioned (five fine Regiments from ye Southern Colonies Pensilvania & ye Jerseys, dressed in uniform, that appear as well disciplined as ye best of ye brittish Troops). . . .

" When I arrived here on Saturday, which was just at Dusk, I was more than paid for all ye Fatigue of ye Journey by receiving ye most sincere and cordial Congratulations of Colo. Reed & ye rest of our Friends in ye Regiment, particularly Capt. Miles of Concord & his Company. I wish I may answer their Expectations & be as useful as I hope I desire to be."

He also speaks well of General Gates, who invited him to sup on venison at Head Quarters, gave him a frank and friendly reception, and though not professing himself to have much Religion, said that he looked upon a Chaplain as a very necessary officer in the Army and treated him with more respect than many officers of lower rank did.

[1] No message was sent to " Polly " (Mary) for she had been sent to live with an aunt in another town.

[2] Colonel Cummings, of Concord, a valued officer in the French War, having now been appointed General, had, to Mr. Emerson's great dismay, perhaps on account of age, refused to accept his commission.

The conditions were then most unfavorable in the Northern Army, made up partly of men worn and demoralized by the brave but disastrous campaign in Canada, partly of raw levies, ill organized and wretchedly provided with needful clothing, only half-sheltered and poorly fed. The time of the year was sickly; a very rainy August. Here were large bodies of men encamped continuously in one place on a clayey soil, with hardly any thought given to what are now to be the essential conditions of health for an army. Parkman's account of the camps of the New England Troops near the same spot some twenty years before in the French War, no doubt applied almost as well to these. Poverty and waste, inexperience and neglect in Commissary and Quartermaster's Departments, — kitchens, sinks, wells and hospitals hopelessly intermingled, and the troops dying in great numbers of diseases now known to be largely preventable, then considered as the judgments of an inscrutable Providence. More than this, many of the soldiers of this Army, (as is told of them also in the French War) reacted strongly under new and demoralizing conditions from their strict bringing-up at home, and some of the officers, aping the free living that they had seen among the officers of the Royal Armies, too often set a bad example to their men.

To a man who saw the extreme need of the Country, and the stakes for which this great game was played, who was not ignorant of military history and, as his exhortation to the Minute-Men of Concord showed, fully believed that a small force of God-fearing men could bear down almost by the mere sound of their trumpets, any number of godless men, however well armed and trained, such a sight was most depressing. His next letters show this, yet it is probable that his courage and enthusiasm would have sustained him, but already, while writing these sadder letters, the poison of camp-fever was in his veins.

He became so ill that, by the physician's advice, he applied for a dismissal, which was granted by General Gates, and he started in hope to reach his distant home. He did not get beyond Rutland, for the disease overpowered him.

He was there received as a guest by the Rev. Benajah Root, who nursed him zealously. From his sick-bed Mr. Emerson wrote to his wife.

' Rutland Septr 23 76

Dear Mrs. Emerson: — I am now on my way homeward but whether I ever shall reach there is very uncertain. May God give us such a humble acquiescence to his sovereiegn Will as will bring Honor to God, and Comfort to our own Souls. I desire to leave You & our dear little Ones, to a kind & gracious Providence. My dear, strive for Patience, let not a murmuring Tho't, & sure not a murmuring Word drop from your Lips. Pray against Anxiety. — don't distrust God's making Provision for You. He will take Care of You & by Ways You could not think of. — I desire to leave you in ye Hands of a Covenant keeping God, & whether He sees fit to restore me to Health or not, I am willing to leave ye Matter with him who does all Things well.

May ye God of ye Fathers be your God & yr dear little Ones, whom I would recommend to him, & rest your affectionate Husband

Wm. Emerson

He died a week or two later, probably of typhoid or dysentery. His good host wrote a letter telling of his death "to the Church and people of God in Concord." In it he said:

He has often expressed his sense of your endearing kindness to him and how he wanted an opportunity to acknowledge it, and, if God should give him opportunity, how he would show his gratitude by exerting himself more vigorously for your good. . . . His Disorder was very afflicting, long and tedious, yet he appeared through the whole of his sickness the most unexampled instance of patience I ever saw. He always appeared to be possessed of the greatest calmness, serenity & composure of mind, never appeared to be in the least surprised at the near views of Death, but met the King of Terrors with the greatest Composure. . . . He was decently interred at this place with the honours of war by a detachment from Colonel Vandyke's Regt. commanded by Major Shippen.

His body still rests where they laid it; but fifty years later, Concord remembered him with affection and placed a tablet on the hill opposite his Church among the graves over which the Liberty Flag waved on that April morning. On it they wrote: "Enthusiastic, eloquent, affectionate and pious, he loved his Family, his People, his God, & his Country, and to this last he yielded the cheerful sacrifice of his life."

Return of the Trumbull Papers.[1]

Mr. Ford gave an account of the proceedings in Hartford on September 17, when the papers of Governor Jonathan Trumbull were formally transferred by the Society to the State of Connecticut. The President, Mr. Lodge, Mr. Lord and Mr. Ford represented the Society. After a lunch at the Hartford Club given by Governor Lake, the party went to Memorial Hall, State Library building, escorted by the First Company of the Governor's Foot Guard. Governor Lake presided and in happy terms introduced the speakers. The presentation of the papers was made by Senator Lodge, whose remarks are printed in full; the papers were accepted by Senator McLean, of Connecticut, and Governor Lake then turned them over to the custody of Mr. George S. Godard, State Librarian. Mr. Lodge spoke as follows:

I esteem myself very fortunate to be permitted to represent the Massachusetts Historical Society on this most agreeable and, I think, in its way, memorable occasion. We have come here to return formally to the State of Connecticut the Trumbull papers. These papers belonged to Jonathan Trumbull, the famous Revolutionary Governor of Connecticut — the only Colonial Governor, as I remember, who from the beginning espoused the American side in the contest with England. He was the friend of Washington, who was said to have first applied to him the name of " Brother Jonathan," and with the papers is the volume containing his correspondence with the great leader of the Revolution. When he retired from office he took with him the papers which constitute a record of these years of service. They remained in the possession of the family for ten years after his death and then were given by David Trumbull, in the name of the family, to the Massachusetts Historical Society. They have continued in the possession of the Society for one hundred and twenty-six years and we now return them to the State of Connecticut, to which they properly belong.

It seems strange to us at the present day that these papers, which are very largely official, should ever have been in any

[1] See *Proceedings*, LIV. 353.

other possession than that of the State of Connecticut. We must not forget, however, that at the time when they were given to the Massachusetts Historical Society that Society, the first formed for historical purposes, was the only one in the country. The States then did not cherish and guard the official records of the past as they now do. The proper preservation of State archives was at that time almost unknown and it is not difficult to understand that David Trumbull, in his anxiety to have the papers preserved, should have committed them to an association formed for that special purpose. There are many other examples of public papers being in private possession, including those of Washington and Hamilton, which have now been long in the possession of the Government of the United States, but the action of David Trumbull, however natural under the circumstances, in giving these papers in 1795 to the Massachusetts Historical Society does not in the least affect the soundness of the general proposition that public records of such importance and value ought to be in the possession and control of the nation or of the state to which they relate. These papers form an important part of the historical records of Connecticut, and the Massachusetts Historical Society is unanimous in feeling that their final resting place should be here in the Connecticut archives. It is pleasant to know that the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society were of one opinion in desiring their return, but it is also fitting to say that the thought, the intent, the necessary effort, the appreciation of the larger meanings of the action were due, as is apt to be the case, to one man, Mr. Worthington C. Ford of the Massachusetts Historical Society, editor, scholar, historian, a man of letters and learning, to whom we are all indebted.

I shall not undertake to describe the contents of the papers, which fill some twenty-eight volumes, in addition to the special volume of Washington's letters, but there are some larger aspects, I think, connected with the return of these papers to which it would be fitting for me to allude. Burke said, "The people will not look forward to posterity who never look back to their ancestors." The same thought was expressed by Macaulay and by many others, so that it

has almost become a truism, which it is well to repeat to-day for there never was a time when reverence for and knowledge of the past were more necessary than at this moment in order to enable us to deal with the great problems of the present and to encourage hopes and stimulate preparation for the future. But we can neither know the past nor learn its lessons unless the evidences upon which the history of the past rests are jealously guarded and preserved for the information of the people and for the use of the student and the historian, whose duty it is to unfold the wondrous tale and set before us the truths, whether sweet or bitter, which lie hidden in dusty volumes and faded writings, mute witnesses of the days that are dead, and which will bring to life the men and women who have played their parts and passed forever from the stage.

Most important of all to us and to the world are the records of the great nation which we have built up and to which our first love and highest allegiance are always due. In those records are enshrined the principles and convictions of the men who won our independence and made the Constitution, through which, embodying as it did the beliefs and aspirations of the people, the United States has grown to greatness and to power. They mean far more, these records, than a mere history of events. Dismiss the utterly mistaken notion that because they were brought forth and established more than 130 years ago they are outworn and fit only for the dust heaps. Great, lasting, general principles were embodied in the Constitution, in the arguments of its framers, in the decisions of Marshall, based on human nature and human history as conceived and understood by some of the best and wisest men whom history can show. These principles of action and government are as alive to-day as when they were enunciated in 1789 and are part of that portion of human thought which the centuries of recorded history have shown to be as enduring as it is impalpable, outlasting all other monuments on the onward march of mankind. Yet, while we place the history of the United States first even as our first duty is to the nation, while we all know that the welfare of each part of our great country involves and is essential to the welfare of the mighty whole,

we must not forget that back of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence lie the foundations upon which the entire structure has been built. Behind those great instruments we see the thirteen original states, the little colonies on the edge of the Atlantic who faced the power of England and won the independence which gave birth to a new nation. There has always been, there must always be, a peculiar bond among the original thirteen states, to each of which belongs one stripe in the flag. We make no distinction and ought never to make any distinction between the oldest and the youngest state, for the Union is over all alike and each one has its star in the banner of the nation. But we should be either more or less than human if, as we turn back the pages of our history, the people of those States which stood together and signed the Declaration in 1776 did not feel that sympathetic interest in each other which a common tradition of courage and sacrifice and final victory must always breed in the human heart.

Turn back the pages again to the earlier days when New England and New York and Virginia were more remote from and more inaccessible to each other than they were to Europe. Those little settlements grouped in loneliness on the Atlantic had their several, separate histories and traditions as yet unshared by other colonies destined to grow and spread from the original settlements, so pathetically small, so hard pressed in their struggle for life. The New England plantations were the first to come together and the bonds among them were extremely close; especially close were the relations between Massachusetts and Connecticut. Thomas Hooker, a very remarkable man, came to Boston in 1633, was ordained pastor of the church at Newtown, and in 1636 migrated with his congregation through the wilderness to the Connecticut valley and founded Hartford and the Connecticut colony. In 1636, John Winthrop, the younger, son of the Massachusetts Governor, came out as Governor of the Connecticut colony. He was succeeded by John Haynes, was re-elected in 1657 and again in 1659 and thereafter continued to be Governor until his death in 1676. In 1637, Theophilus Eaton, coming from Boston, settled at New Haven, and a year later came the Reverend John Davenport,

Edward Hopkins and others also from Boston and the colony of New Haven was founded.

I mention these familiar and well-known names and dates merely to show that Massachusetts and Connecticut were together from the beginning, and that the settlers of both were the same people — alike in race, origin, and purpose. In 1637, Connecticut and Massachusetts fought the Pequods, who were threatening the very existence of the settlements. The result was a complete victory and then, as Cotton Mather puts it, "The land rested for forty years." Very important were those forty years of rest. During that time, prior to the meeting of the Long Parliament, twenty thousand Puritans came from Old to New England and assured the safety and success of the Colonies. In 1643, the two Connecticut and the two Massachusetts colonies formed the New England Confederacy, which lasted for forty years and was the first union of federated states attempted on the North American continent, an attempt destined to find imitators and successors which have become noticeable in the world of men. Connecticut and Massachusetts stood side by side in resistance to the evil government of the Stuart kings. Their soldiers fought together in the old French War and both colonies were alike in opposition to the Stamp Act. Again were they side by side in the Revolution, staying with Washington to the very end, and in New England Washington found certain of the men who were closest to his affection and his confidence; Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island, his best soldier; General Henry Knox of Massachusetts, his Secretary of War; and Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, the great war governor, to whom when seeking help and counsel even in the darkest hour he never turned in vain. The two States joined in unswerving support of the administration of the great soldier whom they had followed so faithfully in the field, and when the Union which he founded met the shock of Civil War their sons went forth as in the Revolution to fight and die in defense of the United States. Once more, in the great world war in our own time, the first troops to go overseas, after the early detachments of regulars, were the 26th Division, all from New England, and once again Connecticut and Massachusetts

found themselves fighting side by side in France and Flanders in defense of their country's rights and for the preservation of freedom and civilization.

It has been a remarkable association in peace and war of these two Commonwealths for nearly three centuries, and yet most significant of all is the beginning, when together they established the little settlements from which these States have grown up capable of such a history and of winning such results.

On an occasion like this, when we are replacing in the archives of Connecticut papers relating to the men and events of the American Revolution, it would be well to pause a moment and inquire what manner of men they were who founded these States; who conquered the wilderness and built up thriving communities on the shores of the Atlantic and upon the land which they cleared from the forest; whose children have gone from the East even to the vast ocean of the West aiding in the development of the great States of the North, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific; who have welcomed the coming of thousands of men of other races, who have become like them staunch Americans, devoted to their common country and who, as we believe, cherish the political principles of the founders as jealously as their descendants. The men who did this work nearly three hundred years ago were members of the powerful Puritan Party in England. Those who went overseas into the new land differed in no respect from those who remained at home and who led the great Rebellion which saved England from becoming a despotic monarchy like those of Europe and made possible the Revolution of 1689, which preserved the liberties of England and upon which modern England and Great Britain were built up. I will not undertake in my own words to describe the Puritans of the Seventeenth Century. That has been done once and for all by Macaulay, and I am going to recall to you some of the passages, as famous as they are familiar, in which he pictures the Puritans who saved English freedom at home and founded the settlements three thousand miles away on the coast of New England. You all know the description to which I refer, but we can well afford to read it again. Here is what Macaulay says:

We would speak first of the Puritans, the most remarkable body of men, perhaps, which the world has ever produced. The odious and ridiculous parts of their character lie on the surface. He that runs may read them; nor have there been wanting attentive and malicious observers to point them out. But it is not from the laughers alone that the philosophy of history is to be learnt. Those who roused the people to resistance, who directed their measures through a long series of eventful years, who formed, out of the most unpromising materials, the finest army that Europe had ever seen, who trampled down king, church, and aristocracy, — who, in the short intervals of domestic sedition and rebellion, made the name of England terrible to every nation on the face of the earth, were no vulgar fanatics.

The Puritans were men whose minds had derived a peculiar character from the daily contemplation of superior beings and eternal interests. Not content with acknowledging, in general terms, an overruling Providence, they habitually ascribed every event to the will of the Great Being, for whose power nothing was too vast, for whose inspection nothing was too minute. To know him, to serve him, to enjoy him, was with them the great end of existence. They rejected with contempt the ceremonious homage which other sects substituted for the pure worship of the soul. Instead of catching occasional glimpses of the Deity through an obscuring veil, they aspired to gaze full on the intolerable brightness, and to commune with him face to face. Hence originated their contempt for terrestrial distinctions. The difference between the greatest and meanest of mankind seemed to vanish when compared with the boundless interval which separated the whole race from him on whom their own eyes were constantly fixed. They recognized no title to superiority but his favour; and, confident of that favour, they despised all the accomplishments and all the dignities of the world. If they were unacquainted with the works of philosophers and poets, they were deeply read in the oracles of God. If their names were not found in the registers of heralds, they felt assured that they were recorded in the Book of Life. If their steps were not accompanied by a splendid train of menials, legions of ministering angels had charge over them. Their palaces were houses not made with hands; their diadems, crowns of glory which should never fade away! On the rich and the eloquent, on nobles and priests they looked down with contempt; for they esteemed themselves rich in more precious treasure and eloquent in a more sublime language; nobles by the right of an earlier creation, and priests by the imposition of a mightier hand.

The very meanest of them was a being to whose fate a mysterious and terrible importance belonged — on whose slightest action the spirits of light and darkness looked with anxious interest, who had been destined, before heaven and earth were created, to enjoy a felicity which should continue when heaven and earth should have passed away. Events which short-sighted politicians ascribed to earthly causes had been ordained on his account. For his sake empires had risen, and flourished, and decayed. For his sake the Almighty had proclaimed his will by the pen of the Evangelist and the harp of the prophet. He had been wrested by no common deliverer from the grasp of no common foe. He had been ransomed by the sweat of no vulgar agony, by the blood of no earthly sacrifice. It was for him that the sun had been darkened, that the rocks had been rent, that the dead had arisen, that all nature had shuddered at the sufferings of her expiring God!

Thus the Puritan was made up of two different men, the one all self-abasement, penitence, gratitude, passion; the other proud, calm, inflexible, sagacious. He prostrated himself in the dust before his Maker: but he set his foot on the neck of his king. In his devotional retirement he prayed with convulsions, and groans, and tears. He was half maddened by glorious or terrible illusions. He heard the lyres of angels or the tempting whispers of fiends. He caught a gleam of the Beatific Vision, or woke screaming from dreams of everlasting fire. Like Vane, he thought himself intrusted with the sceptre of the millennial year. Like Fleetwood, he cried in the bitterness of his soul that God had hid his face from him. But, when he took his seat in the council, or girt on his sword for war, these tempestuous workings of the soul had left no perceptible trace behind them. People who saw nothing of the godly but their uncouth visages, and heard nothing from them but their groans and their whining hymns, might laugh at them. But those had little reason to laugh who encountered them in the hall of debate, or in the field of battle. These fanatics brought to civil and military affairs a coolness of judgment and an immutability of purpose which some writers have thought inconsistent with their religious zeal, but which were, in fact, the necessary effects of it. The intensity of their feelings on one subject made them tranquil on every other. One overpowering sentiment had subjected to itself pity and hatred, ambition and fear. Death had lost its terrors, and pleasure its charms. They had their smiles and their tears, their raptures and their sorrows, but not for the things of this world. Enthusiasm had made them

Stoics, had cleared their minds from every vulgar passion and prejudice, and raised them above the influence of danger and corruption. It sometimes might lead them to pursue unwise ends, but never to choose unwise means.

Such we believe to have been the character of the Puritans. We perceive the absurdity of their manners. We dislike the sullen gloom of their domestic habits. We acknowledge that the tone of their minds was often injured by straining after things too high for mortal reach. Yet, when all circumstances are taken into consideration, we do not hesitate to pronounce them a brave, a wise, an honest and an useful body.

Such is the verdict of the great historian! Here in this new land the Puritans undertook to establish a theocracy and their rules of daily life were rigid and gloomy, but with their theocracy they also established a democracy. They stood for individual freedom and they laid the cornerstones of republics. The theocracies perished, as they were bound to do, but the democracies survived. The hard and somber rules and habits of daily life gradually faded away. The old harshness and narrowness vanished and gave place to the widest toleration, but the principles upon which these New England communities were built, the deeper qualities of character and purpose, remained and were the cause of the success and the influence which the descendants of the original Puritans and those who have joined them here have maintained for three centuries. These first settlers believed in the largest measure of individual freedom, but they were convinced that freedom could not endure unless law and order prevailed. The stern courage which they exhibited on the battlefields of England and Europe and when face to face with the onslaught of savages was carried into their daily life. They did not bewail their fate which brought them to a land of great natural beauty, but of few natural gifts. They did not complain because they were planted on a rocky soil and were compelled to bear the extremes of a climate which in winter was one of intense severity. They developed farms and farmed successfully. They made good use of the vast forests which stretched before them as they took up their western march. They found aid in the water-power of their rivers. They did not sit and gaze helplessly

at the ocean — gray and stormy, as it so often was. They went forth upon it in their little ships which, as the years passed, ranged far and wide; were found in the Arctic seas in pursuit of the whale; in the tropical oceans; and in every port in Europe. Their fisheries and their trade brought them wealth, while the people at home maintained themselves successfully despite the too often niggardly soil. Undismayed by the lack of minerals, they built up with untiring energy great industries. They made countless mechanical inventions. They developed a literature which will live as long as men read and think. They never whined over the hardships or the difficulties of life but met and overcame them. Their Bibles told them, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," and from the work thus enjoined in the Bible they never shrank. They did not regard work as an affliction and a wrong, but as wholly right and that which made life worth living. They held labor in honor, whether it was wrought out with the hand or the brain. They believed in education and they reverenced learning. When with thankful hearts we, who are their heirs whether by descent or adoption, acknowledge the success in every field of human activity of these New England states, we find the secret of it all, if we reflect, in the principles of conduct and in the character and qualities, moral and intellectual, of the men who established themselves three hundred years ago on the edge of the New England wilderness. It is a precious inheritance and, while we cherish it, we may feel all confidence in the welfare of the Republic and in the future of the United States, where we have reason to believe in these troubled days is garnered up the best hope for the future of humanity and for the cause of freedom and civilization.

Once more let me, as I close, quote the imposing sentences of the son of Sirach:

> Let us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us. The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power from the beginning. Leaders of the people by their counsels and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people; wise and eloquent in their instructions; all these were honored in their generations and were the glory of their times.
>
> Their seed standeth fast and their children for their sakes.

Their seed shall remain forever and their glory shall not be blotted out. Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth forevermore. The people will tell of their wisdom and the congregation will show forth their praise.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. MERRIMAN and RHODES.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P.M. The first Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, drawings, specifications and correspondence of her father, Erastus Brigham Bigelow, 1831–1879, relating to his inventions, his diary, 1847–48, and extracts from the private journal of Alexander Wright, 1845–50.

From Mrs. Barrett Wendell, some papers of John and Jacob Wendell, of Portsmouth, N. H., 1755–1837, several blotters relating to the estate of Samuel Pray, 1832–1837, and two account books of Jacob Wendell, 1810–28.

From Walter Eliot Thwing, by deposit, his manuscript account of "Ships and Shipping in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century" directed by his father, Supply Clap Thwing, a merchant of Boston, together with biographical sketches of him and of those associated with him.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Freeman Thorp, of Hubert, Minn., a photograph of his painting of Abraham Lincoln, which hangs in the corridor of the Senate at Washington, also a photograph of his own original sketches of Lincoln at Geneva and at Gettysburg.

From Dr. J. Collins Warren, a lithograph of the certificate given to Mrs. G. H. Shaw, a contributor to the New England Sanitary Commission Fair held in Music Hall, Boston, December 14, 1863, for the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers, printed by L. Prang & Co., Boston; also six colored lithographs of costumes in France in the time of Louis XIV and XV.

From Senator Frederick Hale, of Maine, a lithograph by Pendleton, showing a "View of the Prison Yard and Building" and a "Plan of Mass. State Prison and Grounds" by William Austin.

From Miss Emma Lovell Loring, a water-color sketch of Washington's Tomb, June, 1828.

From Grenville H. Norcross, a lithograph by J. Curtis, New York, the "Massachusetts Baby Show"; and two lithographs by Bufford, 1862, one "The Secession Bubble, It Must Burst," and the other "I'm not to blame for being white, Sir," showing a portrait of Charles Sumner.

From Miss Sally F. Shaw, two pencil sketches of Prince Pierre Napoleon Bonaparte, cousin of Emperor Napoleon III, June 18, 1837.

From George L. Hamilton, Jamestown, R. I., insignia of the Order of Isabel Maria Louise of Spain.

From Hon. Warren A. Reed, a souvenir medal struck to commemorate the centennial of the city of Brockton, June, 1921, by the Brockton National Bank.

From Dr. W. Sturgis Bigelow, three five-cent pieces in the mint state.

From William B. Revere, of Canton, by deposit, a bookplate of Paul Rivoire, father of Paul Revere.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from William Bennett Munro, of Boston, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society, and one from George Burton Adams, of New Haven, Conn., accepting his election as a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Robert Lincoln O'Brien, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Vice-President announced the death of Edward Hooker Gilbert, a Resident Member, and spoke briefly of his life and of his connection with the Society.

Mr. Charles P. Greenough read a translation of a

Letter from St. Jean de Crevecœur.[1]

New York
6 June 1788

Monsieur le Duc

The more the settlements West of the Mountains increase, the more frequently earthen fortifications are discovered which excite the admiration of all travelers — they are generally built in a circular or elliptic form — all are located upon elevated ground and in the neighborhood of fountains or rivers and are provided

[1] The original is in Mr. Greenough's collection.

with a Mondrain (sand mound) or Cavalier (parapet) of a conical shape and of a size proportioned to the length of the fortification. These fortifications are to-day covered with trees of the same species as those in the neighboring forests.

I cannot believe that the people who have built these various fortifications and who therefore must have been numerous, industrious and warlike did not understand the use of iron and yet up to the present moment no traces thereof have been found.

Several tumuli or barrows have just been discovered in the County of Bourbon (in the country of Kentukey) of a lower height; after being cut crosswise they were found to be composed of six beds for the dead, enclosed between four flat stones and covered at the end by a mass of pebbles — the bones were in an excellent state of preservation.

I have lately received a detailed account of a discovery no less startling which I take the liberty of repeating to you and which was given to me by Monsieur Brown, delegate in Congress for the County of Kentukey. About the year 1778 several colonists from North Carolina crossed the mountains and after having passed through a great extent of country, they halted upon the River of Cumberland or of the Shawanous and having found there a large number of fields covered with Roseaux (cane brakes) they founded a city which has since been called Nash Ville about 201 miles from the junction of the River with the Ohio and very near a large stream well known to all hunters under the name of French Lick because a salt spring was found in the middle of the bed of the River. While searching for means to extract the salt they discovered upon the Northern bank of the same stream a sort of rampart about eight feet higher than the natural level of the neighboring land upon the entire length of which they noticed a very great number of objects to which they gave the name of furnaces — after having carefully removed the rubbish with which those least injured were filled. Here is what they saw. The center was composed of a round stone, two feet in diameter and six inches thick around which were fixed six other stones, elevated fifteen inches above the level of the ground and nearly as much below. The space contained between these last was covered with another stone connecting them which has an outward and quite considerable slope — the sketch enclosed gives the exact dimensions of these little monuments — and in following this ridge they discovered 171 more of them but being weary they did not pursue their researches any further and were satisfied to count more than 300 of them. At some distance in a Northerly direction

they discovered a Cavalier (parapet) twenty feet high, the summit of which covered nearly the sixth part of an acre and upon which one of these colonists has since built his house.

Several miles Easterly of Nash Ville a small mountain is visible on the top of which was found the ruins of a considerable village surrounded by a rampart of great length and near the bottom a great number of tombs — each of them is provided with two stones, one placed near the head and the other towards the feet — in opening them they discovered that each body was enclosed within three flat and well jointed stones.

The course of the Cumberland River is navigable during six months of the year as far as 80 miles above Nash Ville, as are all the transapalachien rivers — it has very high banks which however have not prevented floods from inundating several times certain parts of the country — from its mouth for sixty miles it is deep but from that point to the end of navigation it is only an alternation of little rapids and of gentle and tranquil currents.

Nash-Ville is today considered to be the Capitol of the new county of Cumberland separate from that of Franklin and of Kentukey. It consists of 800 families and it is already divided into two counties, namely Davison and Somner. Would you believe that it is the English of Detroit who provide them with merchandise. So easy and so comfortable are the communications provided by all these rivers.

This is the route followed by them —

From Detroit they are sent in canoes to the mouth of Lake Erie	6	Leagues
From there crossing the Lake to the mouth of Miamis River	12	"
They then travel up the Miamis River as far as a great Indian village of the same name	57	"
Then portage as far as one of the branches of the Wabash called by French la petite Riviere (the little River)	$2\frac{1}{2}$	"
The length of this river as far as the Muskingham Stream	18	"
They then descend this river as far as the Sa Lamy River	20	"
And the same as far as Oxeyatanon where fifteen French families live	40	"
The same as far as the village of Vermillon where there is located a settlement of the Pianskachas	20	"

Same to the high lands	20	Leagues
Also to the Post of Vincennes a great Canadian settlement where you find 150 houses	40	"
Again as far as the junction of the Wabash with the Ohio	55	"
Then the Ohio as far as its junction with the Cumberland River	22	"
Finally they ascend this last named River as far as Nash Ville	67	"
On the other side	$77\frac{1}{2}$	"
	$379\frac{1}{2}$	Leagues

About 200 miles above Nash Ville beyond the junction of the three branches which form the Cumberland River not far from the mouth of the River of Rock Castle, three hunters have recently discovered regular fortifications and in the neighborhood many tombs upon the tops of which were found Inscriptions but such was their ignorance that they could not read them. Next autumn more particular details are expected.

Not far from the Long Island in the Holston River (one of the principal branches of the Ténézee) 200 miles above the spot so well known under the name of Muscle Shoals and a quarter of a mile from the line which divides Virginia from North Carolina there was found in a tunnel of lime stone (Pierre Calcaire) the skeleton of a man who must have been of extraordinary size. Colonel Selby, upon whose estate it was found, has with the greatest care collected all parts of the skeleton. The lower bone of the jaw is so large that the Colonel without inconveniencing himself places it under his own jaw and the two tibias are $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches longer than those of an ordinary man.

A Calumet weighing seven pounds was found under the head of the skeleton, which represented an eagle and is of a very hard black marble. You can see the hollow which was made to hold the tobacco, also the hole into which the pipe stem was placed. A second was also found under the feet of the skeleton but of less weight. Nobody travels in these countries without stopping at Colonel Selby's place to examine these objects.

Nearly all the salt springs found in the countries about which I have had the honor of speaking to you, give only in their natural state a very small quantity of salt; the Americans have invented a method of boring to a great depth by drills made of several pieces. As soon as this operation is completed, the waters of these

springs are suddenly charged with a great quantity of salt, — in carrying on this operation in a Salt Marsh or Lick situated on the Holston River, they discovered seven feet deep a bed or immense heap of great bones, like those known for more than 30 years on the Bigbone Creek descending the Ohio River and which are believed to be the remains of a Mammoth.

I hope that you will not disapprove my action in calling these details to your attention. I thought they might excite your curiosity and merit perhaps some moments of your interest.

I shall have the honor in my first letter to give you an account of the useful and interesting experiments which have been made here in coal tar upon the outside and inside of vessels. On the outside it prevents the worms (de Metz) from attacking the planking. On the inside it drives out the rats. When the paints which they use to paint an apartment, are mixed with the oil of this same coal tar, they become an infallible preservation against every sort of vermin.

The nails, the hinges of vessels, previously heated and then dipped into this new form of coal tar are no longer exposed to the ravages of rust. A cargo of this coal tar has just arrived from Scotland, which has been sold on the spot.

Permit me to recall myself to the Memory of Madam your mother, of Madame the Duchesse, of Monsieur and Madam de Leon and to offer to them proof of my gratitude and respect. Accept yourself I pray you the same sentiments which I shall preserve during my whole life.

If I had more marked ability I should have sent you details much more interesting upon the political condition of these Republics which at this very moment are meeting a crisis which will reunite them in stronger ties or divide them into two or three confederations. We shall know in a month which it will be. I have the honor of being very respectfully, Monsieur le Duc, your very humble and very obedient servant.

St. Jean de Crevecœur

Monsieur Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld.

Dr. Allen read the following on

Captain Hector McNeill, Continental Navy.

Last year Mr. Frederick W. Denton, of Cambridge, presented to the Society a letter-book of Captain Hector McNeill of the Continental Navy, which was reported at the

May meeting of 1920. Captain McNeill commanded the frigate *Boston* in 1777 and the letter-book covers the period of an eventful cruise made in that year. When McNeill turned the ship over to her next commander, Captain Tucker, early in 1778, he presumably left the book on board. In 1780, when Charleston, South Carolina, surrendered to the British, the *Boston,* being in the harbor at that time, also fell into their hands. The letter-book had probably been taken ashore before the surrender. It was found many years later among the papers of Mr. Denton's aunt, Mrs. W. S. Adams, of 28 Church Street, Charleston, a pre-revolutionary house, though not occupied at that early period by Mrs. Adams's family. Whether the book remained in this house for nearly a century after it left the *Boston* or whether it led a migratory existence is a matter of conjecture.

The contents of this letter-book comprise not quite a third of the material which has been collected for publication in the *Proceedings* of the Society. A still larger proportion of the whole is furnished by a collection of papers belonging to the Hon. Charles W. Gray, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, who has kindly allowed us to take copies; these were heirlooms in the McNeill family, descending through his youngest daughter. Some of them were printed several years ago in the *New Hampshire Genealogical Record.*[1] The remaining papers come chiefly from the Massachusetts Archives and the Library of Congress, the latter mostly John Paul Jones manuscripts. The Chamberlain Collection in the Boston Public Library and the Bostonian Society each contributes one letter. To the officials of all these institutions we are indebted for very interesting and valuable material. A number of other items are reprinted from the *Proceedings* of this Society; also two letters from the *Publications of the Naval History Society* and two from the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register.*

Among the papers in the Gray collection is an autobiographical sketch which throws much light on McNeill's antecedents and early life. Unfortunately it comes down only to the period of the French and Indian War. From this account it appears that he was of Scotch descent and was

[1] January, 1907.

born in County Antrim, Ireland, October 10, 1728. He came to Boston with his parents in his ninth year, arriving September 7, 1737. He was educated in the Boston schools and in later life followed the sea. November 12, 1750, he was married in the First Presbyterian Church to Mary Wilson.[1] Their first child, Robert, was born April 12, 1752, and died in September the following year. In November, 1753, came the birth of another son, Hector, and just two years later that of the eldest daughter, Mary. Another daughter, Lettice, was born at some time after the period covered by this sketch.

Entering the king's service in April, 1755, McNeill, then master of a vessel, carried General Monckton to Nova Scotia and apparently remained during the siege of Beauséjour. He returned to Boston in October, but about the end of the year 1775 was again in the Bay of Fundy. He was soon captured with his ship by Indians, near Passamaquoddy Bay. With this incident the sketch comes abruptly to an end. We have a bit of information, however, derived from Indian sources and recorded in a journal kept in 1764 by James Boyd, a settler on Passamaquoddy Bay. Boyd learned from the natives of that region that McNeill, after his capture, had been taken to St. Andrews and thence to Quebec.[2] He there disappears from recorded annals for more than nine years. He may have been held a prisoner until the end of the war, but at all events he resumed his seafaring life in course of time.

In a list of "Port Arrivals" it is noted that on April 19, 1765, "Hector McNeill, Sloop *Phenix* from Hallyfax," with a considerable number of passengers, arrived in Boston, and on November 24, 1766, he came from Quebec in the sloop *Fanny and Jeany*. Three other entries of his vessels from Quebec are reported: August 10, 1767, the sloop *Brittania*, August 25 and December 15, 1768, the sloop *Swallow*.[3] This last arrival is mentioned in the *Dairy of John Rowe*.[4]

[1] *Boston Records*, XXVIII. 341, where the date given is November 10.

[2] 2 *Proceedings*, III. 91. There is no record in the Massachusetts Archives of any service of Captain McNeill in the French and Indian War.

[3] *Boston Records*, XXIX. 264, 288, 295, 307, 311.

[4] 2 *Proceedings*, X. 71.

Captain McNeill's first wife died February 7, 1769, and lies in the Granary Burying Ground, where her stone may be seen.[1] On December 26, 1770, he married Mary Watt. By this union he had one child, a daughter named Sarah.[2]

At the outbreak of the Revolution McNeill was living in Quebec with his wife and daughters. They are mentioned several times between June and October, 1775, in the "Journal Kept in Quebec in 1775 by James Jeffrey," and under the date August 29, it is stated that "Hector McNeill arrived this evening from Dominica in Drummonds Schor. He says that at Canso he heard that at Roxbury had been another battle, and most of the light horse were killed in the engagement — but we must wait for particulars."[3] At this time McNeill's son was a member of Captain Nicholson Broughton's company of Colonel John Glover's regiment in the American army before Boston; his name appears on two rolls of the company, dated June 27 and December 20, 1775.[4] Two years later the younger McNeill was a seaman on his father's ship.

There are two letters dated "Camp before Quebec," April 25 and 26, 1776,[5] the first from Colonel James Lockwood, the other from Major General David Wooster, both addressed "To Capn Hector McNeill at Point au Tremble," giving orders which indicate that he was then engaged in operations on the St. Lawrence River, in the service of the United Colonies. McNeill must have returned to Boston not long after this, for he was appointed, June 15, 1776, a captain in the Continental Navy, and on October 10, when the relative rank of naval captains was established, he was placed third on the list.

Before this arrangement of rank Captain McNeill had

[1] MS. Records in Boston City Hall; Data received from Mr. Charles A. Coolidge.

[2] *Boston Records*, XXX. 349. McNeill's will mentions his son and three daughters, the youngest by his second wife. It was through this daughter, Sarah, that the Gray collection of McNeill papers descended to their present owner. On December 6, 1795, Sarah was married by Rev. Jeremy Belknap to Thomas Neil (*Boston Records*, XXX, 95). Their daughter Jane married Shadrach H. Sise.

[3] *Hist. Coll. Essex Inst.*, L. 132.

[4] Mass. Archives (Rolls), XXXV. 86, LVII. 13.

[5] *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, XXX. 333.

been selected for the command of the frigate *Boston,* of 24 guns, which had been built at Newburyport and was fitting out at Boston. Cruising orders for some of the new frigates built in New England were issued by the Marine Committee of the Continental Congress in the fall of 1776. The first, dated September 21, applied to the *Boston* and *Raleigh* alone. Later orders, of October 23, included the *Hancock* with these two, and their captains were given detailed instructions for a cruise which, it was expected, would soon take place.[1] But the ships were not ready for sea until the following year.

Among the Commodore Tucker Papers, in the Harvard College Library, is a photostat copy of Tucker's commission as "Captain of the armed ship called the *Boston,*" dated March 15, 1777.[2] It may have been the purpose of the Marine Committee to supersede McNeill at this time, but if so, it was not carried out. Tucker took command of the ship a year later.

In 1777 the above mentioned instructions of the Marine Committee to McNeill and other captains were followed in a modified form and the long deferred expedition took place. The *Raleigh,* Captain Thompson, was still unready for sea, but the *Hancock* and *Boston,* during the spring and summer, made one of the memorable cruises of the war, beginning with hope and ending in disaster, as many of the Revolutionary Navy's undertakings did. The *Hancock* was commanded by Captain John Manley, senior in rank to McNeill. The General Court of Massachusetts, in resolves adopted April 24 and 26, 1777, urged these officers to put to sea at once, in pursuit of certain of the enemy's cruisers which were harassing the coast and waters of the state. Inducements, in the form of prize money and insurance, were offered to privateers to accompany the frigates. Nine private armed vessels accepted the terms.

The squadron finally sailed May 21. The privateers were of no use whatever; becoming separated, they soon dropped behind and took no further part in the enterprise. Private

[1] *Out-Letters of the Continental Marine Committee* (*Publ. Naval Hist. Soc.,* Vol. IV), I, 14, 42.

[2] Tucker Papers, I, 18.

vessels were ill adapted for cruising in squadrons and during the Revolution failed in nearly all attempts at coöperation with regular ships or with each other. Early in the cruise the frigates fell in with a superior force, but escaped. In June they captured the British frigate *Fox*. In July they encountered three British ships, the *Rainbow, Flora,* and *Victor,* and the engagement which ensued resulted in the surrender to the enemy of the *Hancock* and *Fox*. The *Boston* escaped, took refuge in the Sheepscott River, and later returned to Boston Harbor.[1]

In a cruise of this sort, hazardous at best, the utmost harmony and perfect understanding between the captains was essential to success. That the opposite was true on this occasion was notorious before they sailed; Manley and McNeill were at swords' points. Dr. Samuel Cooper wrote to John Adams, April 3, 1777: "Manly and McNeal do not agree. It is not, I believe, the Fault of the first . . . If they are not better united, infinite Damage may accrue."[2] In McNeill's letters will be found sharp criticism of his superior's conduct during this cruise. He also had trouble with the officers of his own ship. James Warren, a member of the Eastern Navy Board, in a letter to John Adams, September 7, 1777, in speaking of the frigate *Boston,* said: "And great misunderstanding between the Captain and his officers, who it is said will not again go to sea with him, and who say he never will again man his ship. Capt. McNeill's reputation on his first appointment was extremely good; it seems to be now reversed. The last cruise was at first very successful, but did not end so. There was certainly great blame somewhere. I won't pretend to say where. He lays it on Manley, as you may see by his letters to the Marine Committee; while his officers dont scruple to say that if he had followed Manley's orders we might have had not only the *Fox,* but the *Flora* and *Rainbow.*" In a later letter (October 12), Warren speaks of McNeill's "overbearing haughtiness and unlimited conceit."[3] Yet it would appear from

[1] In the papers here collected, Captain McNeill gives detailed accounts of all these operations. For British accounts, see Allen, *Naval History of the Revolution,* I. 205, 208–214.

[2] Adams MSS.

[3] *Warren-Adams Letters,* Vol. LXXII, I, 366, 373. See *Out-Letters of the Marine Committee,* I. 164, 170.

some of the captain's letters that he was at heart devoted to the interests of his ship's company, both officers and men, and solicitous for their welfare, demanding recognition of their rights especially in the matter of pay and prize money. McNeill had a good friend in Captain John Paul Jones, who expressed sympathy in letters included in this collection.

No report of the cruise by Captain Manley has come to light and his side of the story remains unheard. Nevertheless, public opinion in general was with him, and McNeill was held responsible for the loss of the *Hancock,* in not having come to her rescue. That this sentiment was not unanimous, however, is shown in a letter, dated March 30, 1778, of William Wetmore, of Salem, to Timothy Pickering. In recommending Captain John Fisk for the command of a Continental frigate, he says: "I am confident he wd. not give her away like a Coward as perhaps has been the case with some others, nor lose her like a blockhead as M —— did his."[1]

The frigate *Boston* remained in port until February, 1778, when she sailed for France under the command of Captain Samuel Tucker. In the spring of 1778 Captain Manley, who had been many months a prisoner, was released by exchange and returned to Boston. A Court of Inquiry was held, no report of which exists, but it is alluded to in a letter of James Warren and John Deshon, of the Eastern Navy Board, to William Vernon, the third member. Under date of Boston, June 10, they speak of Manley's Court Martial, then taking place, and add: "Capt. McNeill's comes on Friday next. He conducts in the present Similar to what he did in the former Court of Enquiry, which is to Create as much Charge and perplexity as possible."[2] The verdict of acquittal in Manley's case, signed by Dudley Saltonstall, President, and dated June 13, 1778, is printed in the *Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society.*[3] A letter of June 16, from John Deshon to Joshua Huntington, after mentioning Manley's acquittal, says that "McNeill is on

[1] Pickering MSS. (Mass. Hist. Soc.), XVII. 128. Doubtless Manley is meant.

[2] *Publ. R. I. Hist. Soc.,* VIII. 246.

[3] *Ib.,* VIII. 247.

Tryal. I fancy he will not come of so well."[1] No report of McNeill's trial has been preserved, but a sentence either of suspension or dismissal was imposed. On June 30 he made a protest which has also apparently been lost, but is referred to in a petition to the Continental Congress, dated Philadelphia, July 25, in which he expresses himself as being "exceedingly Agrieved." This petition was referred to the Marine Committee, which recommended, January 15, 1779, "That the Sentence of the Court Martial against Capt. McNeill be not caried into execution." Consideration of this report was postponed and this seems to have ended the matter. McNeill never again served in the Continental Navy.[2]

Little is known of Captain McNeill's subsequent career. Soon after his trial he went to Philadelphia, apparently with a view to conduct more effectively his attempts at reinstatement in the naval service. There he seems to have remained many months, perhaps until the spring of 1779. Later he was engaged to some extent in privateering. On October 26, 1779, he signed as witness the bond of the brigantine *Charming Peggy*.[3] His name appears on a petition, dated May 22, 1780, praying to be commissioned commander of the privateer *Pallas*.[4] This vessel sailed for Europe, bound to Amsterdam. A business letter of August 22, 1780, from that place, says: "We are sorry to mention you that to this day the Brigantine *Pallas*, Hector McNeill, is not yet arrived, so that in all appearances said Vessel is fallen into wrong hands."[5] The fate on the *Pallas* is here left in doubt. Another petition, dated November 21, 1780, pertains to the ship *Adventure*, which also had a Continental commission. In this case McNeill's signature is not in his own handwriting. These were all Massachusetts privateers. On May 10, 1782, McNeill witnessed the bonds of two Virginia privateers with Continental commissions.[6] He may have been on a

[1] Wolcott MSS. (Mass. Hist. Soc.).

[2] Papers of Contin. Congress, XLII. 5, 73, XXXVII, 163. See *Out-Letters of the Marine Committee*, I. 243, 252, 271, 280.

[3] Mass. Archives, V. 163.

[4] Ibid., VI. 266, CLXXI. 164.

[5] *Commerce of Rhode Island*, II, 104, 163.

[6] Mass. Archives, CLXXI. 307; *Naval Records of Amer. Rev.* (Calendar). 221, 406, 494.

Southern trip at this time, but that he was living in Boston in 1782 is shown by letters written to him by Paul Jones.

The only further knowledge we have of the subject of this sketch concerns his end, which was befitting a sailor. In answer to inquiry Mr. Gray of Portsmouth writes: "Capt. Hector McNeill was lost at sea on Christmas night, 1785." A considerable correspondence in later years between his widow and General Knox gives the impression that the captain left his family in far from affluent circumstances.[1]

Autobiographical Sketch [2]

Brigantien *Minerva* July 13th, 1773.

I, Hector McNeill, being now at sea and (blessed be god) finding my mind composed, and sound, do now in His name (and I trust for his Glory) begin a work, which I have long had in mind to accomplish which is to Leave to my children, and Freinds, that may survive me, some account of my Predecessors, and kindred, and of mine own Life, and Perigrinations, throu this troublesome World. That they may know hereafter, from what quarter of the Earth, and from what Stock of People they are descended. That they may thereby be Excited to Excel in allworthyness of life, and conversation rather than debase the blood of their Ancestors, by a degenerate and wicked Life. — and that they may be Taught by the Goodness of God Manifested, Particularly to me, in many verey Pressing dangers, to have theire trust in him, and in him Only; who has offten saved me, where even hope, reather might take the name of Presumtion, and when no vizible door was left for my Escape. For all which may I while I live; and may my children when they read this, have a due Sense of his mercy's, and of theire dependance on him, impressed on theire minds, for ever, from one Generation to another.

I cannot help Lamenting that my Father (who had it much in his power, because blessed with an uncommon Memory, and a good understanding; as well as a very Particular knowledge of his Clan and Kindred,) did not leave me some such help, as I intend (throu god's goodness) this which I am now writeing shall be to my children,) for I hold it a great blessing, to be well assured of being descended from a Stock of People who have been distinguished for ages, for Vertue reather than riches, Therefore

[1] Knox MSS. (Mass. Hist. Soc.).

[2] From the Gray Papers.

am willing that mine should know from whence they came, which few in this country do. Our removal from our native country, to a strange land in the ninth year of my life, (where since my Fathers death I have not been able to get much information) my memory is all I have to trust to. Yet shall I Endeavor to relate my Story strictly consistant with truth, wishing that what I commit to these Sheets, may be believed, and received, with all that integrity of Soul with which I write them. fully determined that my account of things shall be true be it ever so Lame and imperfect in other respects.

First, the People from whom I am descended, by the father's side of the house, (of the name Macniel) were natives of Kintyer in the West highlands of Scotland, from which country my Grandfather (Neal Macneil) followed the fortunes, of the infortunate family of Stuart. This at last led him abroad where he spent his youth and some of his Blood in Foreign Service, so that after his return, he was allways call'd to the day of his death, Neal nafrankah, (or Neal the frenchman). He at last returned and married a wife (of the Name of O Neil) in the north of Ireland, within 5 miles of Bellycastle in the county of Antrim, who lived with him 55 years, and then died, leaving him a numerous family of children, chiefly sons, some of whom I remember to have seen, Namely, Charles, He[nry], John, and Malcolm, which last was mine own Father, [who] was the youngest child of his fathers family.

Secondly the People from whom I am descended by the mothers Side, are also from the West of Scotland, of the Name of Stuart, deriveing theire Pedegree from that Ancient, and illusterous, family, of Stuarts, which has cost so much blood and Treasure to keep theire Simple Sons in Possession of theire fathers inheriteance.

My Mother, whose name was Mary Stuart, was verey Proud of her ancestors, and loved her name to folly; and tho she never reaped any great good from her attachement to them, yet it cost her many a Painfull and sorrowfull hour, to my certain knowledge.

She was a Pious, devout woman, and I verely believe a true Christian, the hapy fruits of which I trust she now reaps in Glory. She was the fondest mother that ever had a son, and of all her sons none so loved as me who was her fa[vorite]. I do remember to have heard my father, and mother, both say; they were married that verey week in which King George the Second came to the crown, (I mean the time of his accession).

I was born on thursday Octr. 10th, 1728, and christened the Sabath following in Bellentoy church by the reverend Doctor Stuart, who was a distant relation of my mothers.

The Place of my birth was at a little Village near the Sea Side not far from the giants Casuaye, call'd (dounesevrick) Dounsevrick and in the Parish of Bellentoy aforesaid, the County of Antrim, 10 miles from Collrane, 8 miles from Bellemony, 5 miles from Bellycastle, and 3 from Bushmills.

In July 1737, my father with his whole family consisting of six souls, viz. himself, my mother, my self, my Sister Jean, my Sister Margret, and Sister Mary, (then only six months old) Embark'd on board the *Sygemanh,* Daniel Gibbs commander at Port[rush], and on the Seventh of September following arrived at boston, haveing lost my second Sister (Margret) on the Passage. This was but a Prelude to our suceeding troubles, for before we had been three months in the country among a Set of Strangers, who were not verey Sympathetick, my other two Sisters also died. These repeated Strokes of Providence was most sensibly felt by my dear Parents, who now too late begann to repent theire removeing to a land of Strangers, where none seem'd touched with theire heartfelt misfortunes, theire anguish was the greater, as they had to blame theire removall from home for the loss of theire children; who haveing taken the Meazles on board the Ship, and being Verey much wet with the Seawater in a Storm (in which the Ship lost her masts,) they took cold, and never after recover'd, but died as above recited.

Here I cannot Pass Remarking, a Singular instance of the Providence of God Manifested, in our Preservation in this Storm which overtook us in our Passage to America.

The Ship in which we pass'd, was about 240 Tons burthen, the Captain, (whose name was Daniel Gibbs) had for his own emolument letten his cabin, and State-rooms, to Passingers and had built for himself a convenient round-house on the after Part the Ships quarter-deck. He had Also built two Smaller ones, one on each side the companion, cappable of containing five Passingers each.

My father, on Viewing the Ship, took a Particular fancy to have one of those little Lodging Places for his family, thinking it better to be where we might allways enjoy the benefit of fresh Air, and be also, intirely detached from the nauseous stench, and filth, of a crowd of Passingers, (which all who Lay below were constantly exposed to,) the Ship being verey much crowded (for at our departure from Port[rush] in Ireland, we reckoned near 470 Souls on board). He Accordingly Agreed with the captain for that birth on the Larboard side the Companion, for which he Paid him three pounds five Shillings per Passinger, those who lay below only Paying three pounds.

It so happened that when the Ship broach'd too in the Storm, her Ballast, Water, Pasingers, and Everything below shifted, and keept her down on her beam-ends, until the water run in abundantly at all her hatch-ways. In this Distress our birth being to Leward; 'twas with great deficualty my dear Parents, could save theire helpless infants from drowning, but holding them up as high as the top of our wretched cabin would Permit. In this horid Situation we remained some time untill the masts went away of themselves. Then the Ship righted a little, so as to free our birth of the water; Except now and then an Extraordinary high Surge of the Sea overwhelmed us. The Goodness of God in Preserving us at this time was verey Extraordinary, when the Little defence we had to resist the Violence of the Waves, was none other than a poor Cabin made on the Ships deck, with half inch deal boards and but slightly secured to the Ships Companion. My dear father, (who had by nature a good Mechanical genius,) had Examined (but a day or two before the storm) the maner in which the birth was secur'd, and Observed that it did not appear solid Enough to resist bad weather, on which he applyd to the Ships Carpenter, who gave him some nails, and a few Staves of an old Beef Barrel; with theese he fastened the Birth to the Companion [with] his own hands, not careing to trust to a Person who seemed very indiferent about that and also the Ship.

We soon had reason to thank the Almighty, for haveing Suggested to my father such a thought — for to this Precaution (under the direction of Providence) was oweing our Preservation in the succeeding Storm, for in the condition the Ship then lay, our birth was Suspended Sideways in such a manner, that, 'twas marvelous indeed, that our weight, and the weight of water in it, had not forced it bodyly off from the companion, into the sea. In which case the poor little family, must have gone all togeither, and in one moment, finished a trip which most of them had but just begun; but that good God who had more mercys in Store for us, Preserved us in this great Extremity. The Scene of this disaster, was in the night, which made it appear more dreadfull and Allarming, the Sea itself, Seemd to be a body of fire reather then water, the cracking, and bursting of the Sails, and Masts, was like thunder; the Ship Lying down on her beam-ends, her Ballast, and Passingers Shiffted to Leeward, her masts and tiller broken, the Sea makeing a free Passage over her, the Shrieks, and Crys, of helpless Mothers and infants, whose Eyes were now in vain turn'd towards theire husbands or fathers for safety, in short the whole Exhibited such a Scene of distress, and look'd

so like enevitable death that the stoutest heart failed, even the hardy tars (who are commonly wont to despise dangers) gave all up for lost, so that of fourteen Stout Seamen, besides Officers, belonging to our Ship, only Six men Stood the deck in this Extremity. All the others haveing Slip'd away into holes and Corners, reather than meet death openly; when thus awfully armed against them.

Those men who stood the deck and bravely did theire duty, ought to be remembered with gratitude, I will therefore transmit theire names to Posterity, as far as in my Power. Daniel Gibbs the Captain, Mr. .... Demmick, chief mate, Mr. .... Smith second mate, George Fitzgerrald, Boatswain, John McKown, Seaman, John Dunn, a Seaman who wrought his Passage.

The names of the others I have mostly forgot (as I would have all Posterity forget them). There was one Josiah Cox of casco-bay among them. I saw him a few years afterwards master of a ship; he was a fair outside of a man, but not very Valiant. His name was Tom Adams, who had the helm and suffered the Ship to Broach too at first. He was also a fine, fair-weather Sailor.

When day light appeared, and brought to our view the deplorable State in which we were, the stoutest heart trembled. When we considered our numbers on board, our Ship a Wreck, the great distance we were from land (then near 300 Leagues), the impossibility of approaching it without masts, and sails, (of both which we were almost distetute) the small quantity of water now on board (which by the buy was and had been the whole Voyage very bad) I say when all theese deficualtys were considered; 'twas then we began Sincerely to repent our haveing quited our native shore. Better had it been to have still tarryed there, and to have struggled on with Oppression, and Tyranny for the term of our natural lives, then to thus Perrish in the Ocean without any eye to Pitty us. Various were the complaints, and Pityable the case of such a Multitude. Nothing but the recent memory of theire late deliverance, and a firm confidence in that Mercy full God who had saved them in theire great distress, could compose theire Spirrits, on this Occasion.

When our first Surprize and Perturbation of mind was over; we next began to think what means was yet in our Power for our own Preservation. The Seamen began to contrive Jury-masts. The Passingers Produced all theire winnow Cloths, and coarse Sheets. With theese and the remainder of the Ships Sails, were such new ones made, as put her once more in a condition to Pro-

ceede (tho slowly) towards our Port, so that the first Part of our Passage haveing been fortunate, the latter creeping part of it; lengthened out the whole to Eight Weeks and three days, from our leaveing Portrush in Ireland, to our Arival at Boston in New England. Here we met with a verey indifferent reception from the People of the country, who seem'd to have a contempt for Strangers, of what denomination soever; more Especially those who came from Ireland (whom they took for granted were all Roman catholicks). Add to this our haveing the Meazles on board the Ship of which distemper twenty seven Persons had died on the Passage, so that we were not suffered to Land, but Order'd down to Spectical Island, there to Perform a quarentine.

While we lay there, a relation of my mothers, whose name was Nancy Stuart (now married to one of the name of Boyd) who had been some two or three years in the country came to see us, and haveing brought a Permitt from the Selectmen of the town, brought us on shore, and conducted us to her house in long-Lane.

On our Landing at Hubbards Wharf, my Father was accosted by that churlish old man himself. He ask'd in an angry tone, from whence we came; who sent for us; why we came there; and why we did not stay in our own country. To all theese questions, my father answered him in few words, telling him with some heat and firmness, that 'twas not him who sent for us, nor were we accountable to him in any respect whatever. The Vile wretch snarled as he went and shut his window, growling out something about takeing the Bread out of childrens mouths, etca., etca. This verey uncouth Salutation from the first man we met at Landing, lookd verey discouraging and wrought so deeply on my fathers spirrits, that he did not recover himself for some moments. At length the Tears running freely over his manly cheeks, gave Way to that Passion he could no otherwise vent, and he became calm before we reached the house of our Benefactors.

A Little Lad who lived next door Observeing me a Stranger, fell into conversation with me, and being highly diverted with my manner of Pronounceation, (whither to amuse himself or some of his comrades to whom he intended to introduce me) led me out into the streets where we soon met with other Boys who were going to see a Ship Launched. Thither I accompany'd them where were gathered togeither great numbers of Spectators among others many small boys, some of whom began to make remarks on my dress and appearance. At length one more Audacious then the Others, singled himself out, and endeavour'd to Provoke me by his Scurrilous Language, which I for some time bore with christian

Patience, (considering my self a Stranger, and haveing taken great notice of the reception my father had but just received from Old Hubbard I expected but little favour from those who were now round me). At length this unmannerly boy most unhappily for himself, call'd me Irish. The word was scarcely out of his mouth, before he had my little fist — dab — in his Eyes. A Battle ensued and he was beaten most unmercyfully; for tho I had but just come on shore from a fateaguing half starved Passage, the Agitation of Spirrits into which I had been thrown by that days Adventures supply'd my want of Strength and Experience too. For I had never been bred to a fighting or quarelsome life. I returned to our Lodgings highly Extol'd by the Spectators for my courage and dexterity, little thinking of the train of Mischiefes and hardships, which began to follow me from that moment forward. For dureing the whole time of my Boy-hood in the town of Boston my life was one continued State of warfare. Scarcely ever did the day Pass, but one, two, or more Battles, was my sure lot. As the country boys were verey apt to cast reflections on me or my country, so never did I let them Pass unpunished. Even those who were much too old, and too Strong for me, I never Permitted to insult me with impunity. Untill at last I became such an Adept at Boxing, that they became civil and Complisante to me for theire own sakes. This was Perfectly Agreeable to me, for my Nature abhorr'd quarleing and contention all my days, but I was drove into that kind of Life, by the incivility and barbarous Partiality; of these People, among whom I was obliged to spend my time.

On my first appearance at a Publick School, where we were upwards of two hundred boys, (our Masters name was Allen,) I happened to be the only Stranger (for not being country born in those days made one an Alien to all intents,) here to theire everlasting Shame, I was cruely treated. For they Seldome contented themselves with threshing me one at a time, but would frequently shew me foul-play, and get at me two or more at once, untill they had master'd me for that time. This I allways revenged singley whenever an Oppertunity offer'd, untill at last, being brought by custom, to suffer a great deal of Bruseing and in my turn to Pay as well, they let me alone in peace. Here I would not be understood to glory in haveing been the cock of the school. Nor would I have any body think, that I approve of a quarelsome fighting life, in Either Boys or Men; but I reather mention theese things (tho meer childish triffles) to Shew Posterity how hard the fate of Strangers was in those days in New England; and of all

Strangers none so disliked as those whom they called Irish, of whom they thought as the Jews of Old, with respect to the Galileans (can any good thing come out of Ireland). But blessed be god the times are much alter'd; the People of New England, have now a better Oppinion of us; they haveing found by Experience, that the Protestant Settlers from the North of Ireland, are the most invaluable Set of People theire New country can boast of, they being in generall industrious, Sober, honest, people; and Vailant in theire Wars with the french and Indians, from which incumbrance this country has not been long Exempted. This more than can be said of the People of any Other country whatever who have yet come among the New-Englanders.

Since the late greveious Administration of Lord Hillsbourough commenced, I have offten thought within my self, how strange a thing it seem'd to be, that a whole country should (in the course of Providence) be Oppressed, and Persecuted; by a Single Person of that nation; of whom (formerly) they themselves made a Merrit of Persecuting an individual. I would not overstretch this idea, but I think a good Lesson may be learned from it. Shall however Pass it at this time to follow more Particularly my intended Story.

We had not been ashore more than ten days before my youngest Sister Mary, died; and in about six weeks afterwards, my Eldest sister Jean, followed. The sorrow of my afflicted Parents was inexpressible, who now saw themselves in a strange country, strip'd of theire Relations, Acquaintance and children (except my self), and that in little more than 3 months time. Thus they spent the first winter in mourning and Sorrow, resolving to return home again the next Succeeding Sumer. But Providence Order'd it Otherwise; and with the new year New Scenes opened more Agreeable then we Expected, so that from thenceforth my Parents became in a good measure reconciled to theire fate, and Endavourd to make the best of it in New England; in decem[be]r, 1738, my sister Elizabeth was born, and in Jan[uar]y, 1740, my Brother William; in Feb[ruar]y, 1742, another Sister Jean; and in May, 1744, my Brother Isaac; in June, 1746, my Brother Jacob, and in Sept[embe]r, 1748, another Sister Mary, which last did not live above a month.

I had from my Infancy allways discover'd an inclination for a Sea Life, which my Parents discouraged by Every means in theire Power, which I do now think (and Long have thought) Proceeded from theire fondness for me. The Arguments made use of, and the Love and respect I allways had for my Parents, proved hither-

too sufficient to deter me from it. Happy for me had it still been so. Yet being now grown a little too headstrong, and longing to be from under that restraint, my Parents had a right to exercise over me I did (and sory am I now to say it) I did Break Away from my indulgent Loveing Parents, and much against theire inclination, go to sea. I veryly do believe that in all my life, I never did any thing which cost my Parents one Moment's Sorrow, except this one thing of going to sea. For which act of disobedience the Allmighty has in the course of his Providence Punished me severely.

I was now in the 17th year of my age, well grown and verey active; add to this a strong Propensity for that kind of Employment, by which (for the future) I did intend to get my Bread. I soon became much Esteemd by all I saild with, and met with great Encouragement. So that in June, 1750, I was made master of a Vessell in a Verey Snug trade, and constant Employ.

Several years before this Period I had contracted an inclination for Mary Wilson, daughter to deacon Robert Wilson of Boston. I can truely say when it first began with me, I knew not what it meant. Riper years at last Suggested to me what was my complaint, but I remained so verey Bashfull, that 'twas not without great deficualty I disclosed my mind to her. I found her also so overcome with Shamefacedness that I could Easyly see her mind and inclinations was but a counter part of mine own. I do acknowledge my self much indebted to the care of heaven, and have great reason to bless my god for ever, for haveing in the course of things, directed mine eyes, my heart, and every affection to that aimable and worthy Object; for whose sake alone I gave up every thought of all others; and found my self Extremely happy, Expecting in due time to Possess her who was the mistress of my desires. This helped to Ballance my unwary youth, and Proved too much for every other Temptation; so that instead of being toss'd about by a desire of change, and Exposed to diseases and Pains, togeither with a remorse of conscience the sure Pursveiant of early Vice, I was Enabled by the Preserving goodness of God, to bring my self to her chaste arms, Pure, and undefiled, from all crimes, and theire consequences; which are but too offten the silent, selfaccuseing, bedfellows of many a new married man.

On the 12th of November, 1750, I was married to this lovely woman, myself being then just turned of twenty tow, and she within two months of twenty years of age. I was married on Monday Evening, and sail'd for Annapolis Royal on Thursday morning following; leaveing all freinds in Perfect health. Which blessing

did not continue long amongst us, for on the succeeding Sabath I arrived at Annapolis so bad of a Pluresie fever, that no life was Expected for me; and remaind dangerously ill so long that my Vessell was sent home again before the dead of Winter shou'd set in, not Looking for my recovery.

While I lay in this fever, given over by Physicians as well as all others who saw me, I had something Verey uncommon Communicated to me, whither in a dream, or by means of some Supernatureal Agent, I cannot say; nor is it in my Power to this day to account for it; 'twas no less then the awfull, and lively, representation of the Great day of the Lord; which I am Persuaded will surely come and in a manner not far different from what I then saw and shall one day Experience. May God of his infinite Mercy prepare my Soul for the dreadfull, Pleaseing, moment.

Methought, some one came to my bedside and asked me if I knew my mother was dieing. I answer'd no, and seem'd much alarm'd. I then fancy'd I heard the children crying and could Verey plainly distinguish their different Voices. Soon after which my mother appear'd at my bedside, and ask'd me if I knew that she was dead. I answer'd no, and told her I hoped 'twas not so. She said 'twas realy so, and that she was then instantly going to appear before the Judgement seat of Christ. Every thing appear'd so plain and my mothers answers so naturealle, that I begann to be in doubt whither I my self was in the Body or not, to be assured of which, I asked my mother whither I was dead or not. She told me that I was not yet dead. I then asked her where my father was. She said she had left him in great trouble and Perplexity, and to my surprize seem'd very indifferent about him or her children, as if her whole Attention were fixed on the trial just before her. She desired me to stretch my sight around me and take the last View of all Nature, for that now time was going to end and Eternity commence. I look'd and beheld a Vast shining body of light coming towards us, and was told by her that what I then saw was God in Majesty comeing to Judge the world, I plainly saw all nature bend before this dread appearance, the hills and mountains mouldering away, like heaps of dry sand; sinking down to rise again no more.

I then began to be fearfull about my self and would have gladly been found among the righteous. I asked my mother what she aprehended would be her fate. She smiled and said, my child, you shall see me Presently seated on the right hand of my Judge and Saviour who laid down his life for my salvation. I then asked her what would become of me and my father. She said it

would go verey hard with us. I then cryd out, O my mother, will there be no favour shewn to the Seed of the rightious. She said none, but that every one must stand or fall by themselves. I then saw the earth opening, the dead riseing, and Millions of People, small and great hastening towards this awfull throne which had the Appearance of an immense Large Temple of fire, within which were Multitudes of Voices singing Praises to their Almighty King. I asked my mother what the different crowd of People meant, who seemd to huddle togeither in bands. She answered, that these were the different classes, and different Persuations, among mankind, who were to be Judged each class by themselves. All those people seemd Exceeding earnestly Employ'd in prepareing themselves for an Examination before this awfull throne of light. Among the different crowds, I observed one Particular Set, who seem'd to have bundles with each of them; on the opening of which bundles, Vast numbers of little Packages were seen which by their appearance put me in mind of those little round things found in the fields, which the Sheepherds call Blindman Balls. No sooner were theese produc'd but they burst. and vanished, like smoak; leaving a very disagreeable smell, and almost blinding all those who were near the place. I asked my mother what those things meant. She said theese were the Pardons for Sins and Absolutions Obtained by Papists and others from Priests, in which those poor deluded People had trusted, depending on them for theire Justification, but now found when too late to be of no service to them.

The first that I observed was call'd to give an Account of themselves was the Ministers of the Gospel. These were commanded to Produce Lists of their communicants. I then saw, the foundations of the churches turned over like a heaps of ruins, from under which was brought forth books in which was written the names of all who had been members of theese churches since the begining. The writeing appear'd plain Except in Some Places where it lookd mouldy as if it had been wet, and dry'd again,. I look'd long to see if I knew any of those Ministers. At length I saw Doctor Sewall with a goodly List of Communicants in his hand going toward the Throne.

Theese with many other circumstances I saw, and have to this day as Plain in my memory as if it had been yesterday. Whither to call this a dream, or Vision, or the Phrinzeys of a distemper'd brain, I know not; but this I am certain of: that in the self same hour (which this Happened to me at Annapolis, as was remarked by Everybody round me in the house where I lay) my dear mother,

departed this Life at Boston, of a verey slight illness indeed of which she had complained but a few days. For I had left her in Perfect health the 15th, and she died the 27th of that same November, 1750, in the 40th year of her age. It pleased god to recover me from this dangerous Sickness and to return me safe home again about the middle of february, where I found my disconsolate Father surounded with a family of helpless infants, Mourning the loss of the much-loved Partner of his Life. I was Prepaired for this event by the warning I had of it before, on which I depended from the verey moment 'twas communicated to me, as much as if I had been in my fathers house, and had seen what happened. It was nevertheless some comfort to me at my return to find my dear Mary in Perfect health. I then pitty'd my afflicted father, of whose irepairable loss I began to have some faint idea of by comparing my own Mercy's with his bereavements. His Griefe was unbounded, and his mourning without ceaceing, insomuch that I vereyly believe 'twas the means of shortning his days. He had not only burried my mother in my Abscence, but had himself undergone an opperation by the chiugions hands for a cancer in his Lip, so that he was worn to a Skeliton with Sorrow of heart and pain of Body. This Weight alars Proved too much for him and made him totter on towards the Grave with rapid Progress. For notwithstanding some hopes of a cure after his Lip was cut off, yet the roots of the disease lying too deep for the incision Knife, it rekindled again with double force and carried him out of this troublesome world in October following, in the 47th year of his age, so that he did not live quite Eleven months after my mother.

I happened to be at home a few days before his death, time Enough to receive his last Commands which was a great comfort to me, as it was also the only thing my dear father desired most on Earth; that he might only be spared to take me by the hand, give me his Blessing, and deliver over to my care his helpless infants. Oh heart of Adament canst thou hold togeither when thou recollectet the tender Sceene — a dieing father committing to thy care five helpless orphans, who must henceforth look up to thee, and call thee father, Mother, and Brother too. He said my dear child I have (notwithstanding my suffering the most Excruciating pain) desired of the Lord that he would spare me untill your return, that I might take my last farewell of you in this world, trusting in the Almighty to meet you again in glory. My worldly matters I have settled as you will find in that paper, which if you approve of 'tis well; if not, I will make Any Alteration in it

you think proper. I leave you no riches, my Blessing Excepted which I trust in the Lord will fall on you for good; but I leave you a great deal of care. I leave you at the head of this poor little flock, trusting that by the blessing of the Almighty and your honest improvement of your own abilitys you will be Enabled to bring them up to the age of Ma[nhood] without theire falling a Prey, or being Exposed to an ingrateful world; and may they prove loveing dutyfull children to you who is henceforth to be theire Only Parent on Earth. The little I leave among you will wear well and I am Confident no one will ever do you an injury for my sake. May god be with you, and unite you in one band of love, and may his Blessing rest on you for ever.

After this he continued but a few days and gave himself no other trouble concerning us while he did remain Except to restrain our griefe for his sake. After the funerall was over I gave up the house in which I had Lived heretofore and removed into that which was my fathers. Here I found myself (tho young and just beginning the world) surrounded with a family of children whose whole dependence was (under Providence) fix'd on me alone. On this Occasion I could not help remarking to my wife how suddenly she had become a mother of so many children and asked her what she thought of the task. She said that inasmuch as God in his Providence had cast so great a care upon her, she hoped he would Enable her to do her duty towards them with a good conscience, and so far was she from repining at the thoughts of supporting such a burthen, that she undertook it with cheerfullness. This Obliging repply indear'd her to me more if Possible then before, and the unwearied pain she took from that time to her dieing day for those poor children may possibly be Equall'd, but never outdone by the fondest mother on earth; this remains as a lasting proof how conscientiously she acquited herself of so great a charge.

On 12th April, 1752, our family was increased by the birth of our first child (a boy) who was christened Robert for his Grandfather, Mr. Wilson. He, with his mother, and all my brothers and sisters (Except my Brother William) had the small Pox togeither before he was two months old. They all did well notwithstanding they took it in the naturall way, as at that time inocculation was not verey generaly approved of.

My Brother William not being then in Boston but at school in the Country (whither I had been oblig'd to send him on account of his Truant playing in town) was the Cause why he Escaped the small pox at that time. For I could not think of calling him out of the country 50 miles to town to punish him with sickness the

Event of which I dreaded. He had also a weakness in his left Eye some time before which added to my fears in case of his haveing that distemper which is so offten fattall to weak Eyes. In all this I thought I was right and did for the best. But alass, how blind are we to the future. So it happened with me in this case. He was afterwards Exposed to have the small pox on board a Ship where he could have few or none of the Necessarys or conveniences of life about him and was thereby the innocent means of his own and my imprisonment severall months, as will be found in the Sequell.

In August, 1753, my Wifes Brother William Wilson died, and in September following my fine Boy, while I was abscent. At my return I was told of my Loss a Little abruptly as I Landed on Long wharf by Sam. Sloane. Here for the first time I was sensible of the feelings of a Parent.

I had been Accustomed to deaths and had now worn mourning for three years togeither, but never did any death make such an impression on me before as I found the death of this child made. May God forgive the weakness of my Nature and give me allways a due resignation to his will.

In November, 1753, our second son was born and christened after me (Hector).

In March, 1754, my Wife's mother Mrs. Wilson died much Lamented. She was a good freind, Neighbour, and I hope and believe a Good Christian.

In April, 1755, I was taken into the King's Service and did cary Generall Monckton on the Expedition against Beausejour in the Bay of Funday (now Fort Cumberland), from which place [I] did not return untill October following.

In November, 1755, our first daughter Mary was born, and on the 24th december following I saild for Annapolis Royal takeing with me my Brother William meerely to keep him from Beating the Streets and playing Truant, to which he had allways been adicted, and not in the least intending him for a Sea Life. However the Lord, who disposes of all things as he thinks best had now set before him and me a long chain of Suffering.

After being toss'd at sea some days and running from one harbour to another along the Coast for Shelter, we did on the 29th of december aforesaid put into Harbour — Letonge [Etang] a little to the Eastward of Passcadamaquady.

Being at an Anchour I order'd the boat out and went on shore my self with Capt. Wm. Martin of the Royal Artillery, then a Passinger on board, and 4 men. I set the men to cut wood and

to search for water (which last they found not by reason of the severe frosts which had been for some days before). Capt. Martin and my self strol'd about in hopes of shooting sea-foull, and after being wearey of that I took the boat and went round the harbour to sound it. As I had never been in it but once before I thought it my duty to be Acquainted with it. In this Manner did we spend the first day in the harbour aforesaid, without finding the least Vestige of any humane creature Except ourselves. The second day was Verey stormy, so that we cou'd not well go on shore untill towards Evening. Then thinking it more adviseable to move our Birth so as to be able to sail before day light, which we could not well do from the Place we then lay in, at sunset therefore we hove up our Anchours and turnd up to the N Wt. side of the Harbour, then anchour'd again to waite a Convenient Oppertunity for quiting that place. At bedtime we set a watch of one hand which was the common Practice in all places where we were not afraid of Indians. As we had seen nothing of indians those two days past, thought ourselves quite secure.

I order'd the watch to give me a call at 4 o Clock next morning, and was accordingly called by Charles Conner, one of the Sailors. There was at that time a thick fogg or Vapour on the water so that we could not see the land. Consequently could not see our way out of the Harbour. I then order'd Henry Linkletter (the present watchman) to call me at day-light or before if the wind brees'd and cleard away the fogg, then went to bed again and after some time fell asleep. The watchman had walk'd the deck untill he Judged me asleep and then came down to the fire in the Steerage, call'd up Capt. Martins Servant (one Chandler) with whom he began to play at Cequers or somewhat like it. In this stupid careless way he spent his time untill at last hearing something move over his head and being ask'd by Chandler what Noise that was on deck, he Atempted to go up to see, but to his great Surprize was stop'd by two indians at the door of the Companion with each a Musquet presented at him. He suddenly Jump'd backward and call'd out, the Indians at the same time giveing the usuall yells by which awfull noise I was awaked in great Surprize.

I instantly took off my capp and threw it at the candle to prevent being blinded thereby going out in the dark. I then took my Gun (which I had ashore shooting) and running as fast as possible to get on deck, was seized by Linkletter and Chandler who saw the danger I was running into. They hauled me back again, so that I fell with my face and Breast upon the Ladder. I

soon saw the narrow Escape I had met with. For scarcely was I fallen when one of theire Hatchets which miss'd me as I fell stuck into the Ladder Just by my head. Had this blow reach'd me 'twould in all Probabillity have ended my days; but the great Preserver of man, who has his own purposes in View was pleased to spare me at that time.

I had no time for recollections or Considering of my danger before this, being surprized out of my sleep; but now on looking round I saw my Situation clearly. Nevertheless I did not despair of Extrecating my self in a little time, knowing full well that if by any means we cou'd get on deck so as to attack those Vermin Vigorously, they wou'd soon give way.

My first care was to place two men with Musquets in hand one on each side the Steerage, with theire arms pointed upwards, cross ways to guard the Companion door, for I perceived that the Indians were watching an oppertunity to take aim at some of us, of which they were now prevented. For no sooner did they offer to peep in at the door then they saw the Musle of a Musquet pointed at them from below, without being able to see the person who presented it.

I then placed another man at a Loop hole in the bulkhead of the Steerage on the Larboard side looking forward to prevent them from cutting the Cable by which we rid.

I then put on my own cloths and order'd all the people to do the same. By this time it was clear day-light.

My first intention was to begin a random firing throu the deck at the Savages, thinking thereby to clear the quarter deck and then get out. But as we might probably fire a good many shot without doing Execution, it was necessary to Examine what quantity of ammunition we had before we began. On searching we found only a pound of Powder, very bad, mix'd with dust, in the Bottom of the Barrel. This made my heart faint within me; nor could I help curseing the ill-timed Parsimony of my owners, who had reffused me Powder before I saild from Boston. 'twas in the end the loss of theire Vessell and my Liberty and Verey nearly my Life.

I never doubted beating off the indians untill I found my self so short of Powder. In order therefore to make the most of what little we had 'twas Necessary to make a Push for our Lives with all the resolution immaginable.

I then told my People and Capt. Martin, as we had so Little Powder our guns could be of little use to us and that 'twas best to load each man a Pistol with which in one hand and a Cutlass in

the other we might force our way out among the indians; assureing them that they would jump over board the moment they saw us all on deck.

Capt. Martin, John Whitty my mate and Charles Connor one of the Sailors were willing to Accompany me, but the others were all against it. In vain did I tell them that in case of delivering ourselves up to such a Barbarous Enemy as the indians we could hope for nothing more then to have our lives spared untill they got drunk (which coud not be long, considering the quantity of Liquor we had on board the Vessell) that therefore 'twas better to die like men endeavouring to set our selves free then to have our hands tied and be killed Like Sheep, in a few hours. No, in vain was all this repeated severall times. Nothing could rouse theire Spirrits or tempt them to Exert themselves on this Ocasion.

I then began to reproach them who had by theire stupid neglect betrayd me into the present delima, and now throu Cowardice refused to asist me in Extrecating my self and them. One (whose name was John Jermyne) being stung to the heart with these reproaches, said, Sir, I am not a coward, nor is it throu fear that I refuse going out with you; but 'tis because I see no probability of succeeding. In the first place there is no Possibility of getting out more than one man at a time, and he must crawle out of this doorway on hands and knees, in which case two indians with theire hatchets may kill us as fast as we go up. In the second Place they are verey numerous upon deck so that there is the less cause to Expect they will be so soon frightened overboard as you think. To convince you that I am not afraid I will go up by my self, but it shall be naked as I am, not with arms. If I live long Enough to be able to reckon them I will let you know their Number. If they kill me instantly you will know the better what to Expect and may do as you think proper. I then told him that he shou'd not go up so; for to what purpose was it to lessn our numbers by puting himself naked into theire hands, when his takeing arms might be of so great Consequence to us all. He however continued to insist on it and the other People seeming to relish this proposeall better than mine, he did go up with only his Shirt and drawers on. For I could not persuade him even to put on his cloths, altho the Cold was so intense a man might have been froze to death in a little time.

On seeing him come up to them naked they did not atempt to kill him, but haveing ask'd him severall questions they Orderd him to come down again and put on his Cloaths.

At his return he told us they were thirty at least upon deck,

and appear'd all Exceeding well arm'd. We then held a Consultation what we had best do, and haveing lost all hopes of geting quit of them, we came to a resolution to give ourselves up to them, Especially if there should be none of the Mickmack Tribe amongst them. For I had come to a resolution within my self not to give my self up to them whom I had allways known to be a Cruel Bloody Bigoted Cowardly race of Vermine who took delight in sheding the blood of the English for religions Sake.

Observeing the whole time they were on board to keep a centinall on the Cable they were prevented once or twice from cutting it by my giveing orders to fire at the Indian who made the attempt. Happily for us the Gun did not go off. For had we shed the blood of one of them we must have Expected no Mercy. However it had the desired Effect, which was to hinder them from Cutting.

Extract from the Journal of James Boyd, 1764[1]

. . . . . .

Some time before Quebeck was taken from the French, Capt. Hector McNeal was taken prisoner in the harbour Le Tong. It was Indians which took him. One Frenchman, who married an Indian, was with the Indians. They gave Capt. McNeal the names of sundry places. The Indians carried McNeal's vessell to Conasquamkook [St. Andrews, New Brunswick], and there unloaded a good deal of the Cargo. McNeal had some small guns and swivels. The Indians kept one gun to give an alarm when needed. The Indians then carried the Vessell to Saint Johns River, and carried their Captives up this river to Quebeck.

From James Lockwood[2]

Camp before Quebec, April 25th, 1776

Dear Sir: I have just received your favour of yesterday and say in answer — The Gen[l][3] thinks it will be better that M[r] Lizott should be sent by Water than through the Country. With regard to the two Vessels, Cap[t] Tenyck who takes command of Peppers Schooner has Orders to take up all suspected Vessels and boats, and those two have been mentioned to him; he will stop at Point

[1] *2 Proceedings,* III. 91. Winslow Papers. Deposition of James Boyd.
[2] *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register,* XXX, 333.
[3] Major-General David Wooster.

au Tremble. The Gen[l] therefore desires you to direct him at any rate to secure those Vessels. he will receive proper information from you concerning them. Remember me affectionately to your family and believe me your most obed[t] Serv[t]

JA[s] LOCKWOOD [1]

CAP[t] MCNEIL
[Addressed] to Cap[n] Hector McNeil at Point au Tremble.

FROM DAVID WOOSTER [2]

CAMP BEFORE QUEBEC, April 26th, 1776

DEAR SIR, — I am much obliged to you for the information you give me in yours of yesterday which I have received and say in answer — I shall write Gen[l] Arnold concerning the *Acadien* and also to arrest Palmer.

I have Ordered four Bar[ls] Pork to be sent you from here, should be glad you would send two of them to Cap[n] Scott. If you can possibly procure flour at Point au Tremble I hope in a few days to be able to replace Cash for it. I am informed that M[r] Cole with a large sum was left at Crownpoint and was every hour expected at Montreal.

With regard to the *Gaspee* please to procure a Pilot and put some hands on board of her from Cap[n] Church's party and send her to Jackes Cartier with Orders to be left ashore there. Let Matherman follow his Cap[t]. The Articles for the *Maria* with a Gunner were sent from this place yesterday. I have sent for Cap[n] Goforth from Three Rivers, a very good man, to take charge of her — Prince, Peppers Mate, I shall send after immediately. Give me leave to congratulate you upon the Good News from Boston and believe me most affectionately your very hble Serv[t]

My Comp[ts] to your family

DAVID WOOSTER

Cap[t] McNeil
[Addressed] To Cap[n] Hector McNeil at Point au Tremble.
[Superscribed] On the Service of the United Colonies.

[1] Colonel James Lockwood, aide to General Wooster.
[2] *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, XXX, 333.

From the Marine Committee [1]

In Marine Committee. Philadelphia,
Septem: 21 1776.

Sir: — In consequence of a letter from the president of Massachusetts Bay dated the 13 Instant to the President of the Congress which was by Congress referrd to this Committee; we have determined to Comply with the wishes of your assembly by Ordering the Frigate [2] Commanded by Capt. McNeill and that [3] by Captain Thompson of Newhampshire to be fitted immediately and proced on a Cruize on your Coast in hopes of taking the *Milford* Frigate [4] or of drawing her or any other Enemy away from those Seas.

We therefore authorize you to accept the Profferd assistance of the said assembly or any Committee they appoint to assist in fitting equipping arming and manning that Frigate. You are also to accept their offer of Twenty four nine Pounders (cannon) and to Cooperate with them in getting this Ship to sea with the utmost Expedition, and we agree to reimburse the State of Massachusetts Bay for all Just and necessary Expences they incurr in Effecting this Bussiness. We shall in due time also cause their Cannon to be returned, unless they think proper to make Sale of them for the use of this ship and in that case we woud choose to purchase them provided their are good guns quite suitable for the service.

You will please to purchase a proper number of swivell guns, good musketts, Blunderbusses, cuttlasses, Pikes and other arms and instruments suitable for this ship. You will apply to your state for powder, Ball, muskett shott other millitary stores to be paid or returned by the Congress and in short as this Ship will instantly go into Danger we hope nothing will be neglected that ought to be done in fitting and manning her.

We are very sincerely, Sir, Your most obedient Servant,

John Hancock. Richard Henry Lee.
Robt. Morris. Samuel Huntington.
Joseph Hewes. Samuel Chase.
Josiah Bartlett.

[1] Mass. Hist. Soc. mss.

[2] The *Boston*.

[3] The *Raleigh*. Thomas Thompson was later made sixth on the list of captains.

[4] A British man-of-war cruising in Massachusetts Bay.

P. S. If Mr. Langdon applys to you Mr. Bradford or to your State for assistance in fitting out the Frigate under his care we hope it will be granted and we shall reimburse all Just Expences and Charges. The intended Enterprize should be kept as secret as possible.

Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esq.

The above is a True Coppy. Thomas Cushing, Jun'r.

[Endorsed] The Hon'ble Thomas Cushing, Esq., Boston.
[Memorandum] Letter from Jo. Hancock Esq'r and others a Marine Committee of Congress to Thomas Cushing Sept. 21, 1776. relative to the Continental Frigate call[ed] the *Boston,* Hector McNeil Master.

Marine Committee to Captain McNeill[1]

[Philadelphia], September 21, 1776.

Sir, — The Assembly of Massachusetts having offered their assistance in equipping, Manning and Arming the Frigate under your command, we have accepted the same, and therefore hope you will very soon be ready for the sea. We expect the same from the Frigate in New Hampshire commanded by Captain Thompson and our design is that you should join company as soon as possible and cruize in Concert. We are informed that the *Milford* Frigate now infests the Coasts of these states and does much injury to their trade. It is our duty to prevent this soon as we are able and as the two frigates mentioned will be an over match for the *Milford* or any single frigate of the enemy, and go in quest of that or any other of the enemies Ships in those Seas, provided they be such as you are able to Cope with, and we hope in due time that you have taken, destroyed or drove the enemy off the Coast. The rank betwixt you and Captain Thompson is not yet established, you are therefore to act in Concert and consult each other in all things that relate for the good of the service, to the safety and preservation of your Ships or to the Interest and honor of the United States of America.

The Continental Agents in any State you put into will supply Provisions or any necessaries that may be wanted — to some of them you are to address your Prizes; and must advise this Committee of your proceedings as opportunitys occur. You are also

[1] *Out-Letters of the Continental Marine Committee,* I. 14.

to furnish us in due time with a Copy of your log book and Journal, and advise us of any important intelligence that may come to your knowledge. With the best wishes for your success We are Sir your friends, etc.

[Captain Hector McNeill]

Instructions of the Marine Committee for Captains John Manley, Hector McNeill and Thomas Thompson [1]

[Philadelphia], October 23, 1776

Gentlemen, — We expect the Continental frigates *Hancock, Boston* and *Raleigh,* under your respective commands, are either now ready for the Sea or shortly will be so. You are hereby directed to act in concert and Cruize together for the following purposes and on the following Stations. Your first object must be to inform yourselves in the best manner possible, if any of the British men of war are Cruizing in the bay of Boston or off the Coast of Massachusetts, and all such you are to endeavour with your utmost force to take, sink, or destroy. Having effected this service you are to proceed together towards Rhode Island and there make prize of or destroy any of the enemies Ships of war that may be found Cruizing off the Harbour or Coast of Rhode Island.

The Prizes you make are to be sent into the nearest Port. When you arrive at Rhode Island, if Commodore Hopkins [2] should not be already sailed on his Southern expedition and the two frigates [3] built in that State should not be ready for the sea, in that case you are to join Commodore Hopkins and proceed with him on the said expedition, producing these orders to him to justify the measure. But if the Rhode Island frigates should be ready for the sea there will be no occasion for you or either of you to go Southward. And you will then proceed taking with you any Continental Vessel that may be at Rhode Island and ready, if Commodore Hopkins should be sailed before you come there, and proceed to Cruize against the enemies Ships and Vessels that may be found off the Coast between the Harbour of Newport and the Banks of Newfound Land.

We have no doubt from your zeal and attachment to the cause of America, that you will execute this service with all possible dispatch and vigor, and so bid you heartily farewell.

[1] *Out-Letters of the Continental Marine Committee,* I. 42.
[2] Esek Hopkins, senior officer of the Continental Navy.
[3] The *Warren* and *Providence.*

To The Massachusetts Board of War [1]

Gentlemen, — I am in want of good Swivle guns and as I understand there are fourteen such as would Suit very well now in Store at Rowes Wharf, which have been taken out of the Brig^tn *Charming Sally* and the Ship *Julius Ceasar,*

I humbly pray that you would Supply me with the above mentioned guns and their implements, the agent, or my Self will pay the price they may be apprized at with Thanks, I am Gentlemen your Most Obed^t Servant

Hector McNeill.

Boston Jan^y 1^st 1777.
[Addressed] To the Hon^ble Board of War

To the Council of Massachusetts [2]

To the Honourable the Council of the Massachusetts State.

Gentlemen, From the frequent proofs I have had of the baseness of the lower Class of Mankind, and from the proness I can observe in the different ranks above them to make use of the folly's or Vices of the common people, to serve their own particular private Views; I have often look'd with Surprise and infinite concern, on the inatention of the Fathers of this People, who are (in my Opinion) as much accountable, for the Conduct of those under their Charge, as any head of a Family can possible be suppos'd, if for want of proper regulations, they suffer the individuals under their care, to stray from the paths of Virtue. What I would more particularly point out at this time, is that there is scarcely a day passes but instances offer, of desertions from Regiments and Ships in the Continental Service, yet within my Knowledge there has not been a single instance of punishing an offender; nor is there a Law in being, to bring them to Justice. This is an evil which Gentlemen in your high distinguish'd rank sometimes hear of, but do not feel, nor are you in the least acquainted with the weight and discouragement it is to Officers who are more immediately concern'd with these unguarded Mortals, and who from the nature of their Employments, are accountable to the Publick for their line of Conduct. With what Spirit can an Officer carry

[1] Mass. Archives, CLII. 22.
[2] From the Gray Papers. No date; probably January, 1777.

on the publick Service, if he be not guarded by the Laws of the land, or instead of being guarded, should find himself insulted by a *petty constable* with *Benj'a Kents* Authority in his hand, for having acted consistent with his Duty, in endeavoring to stop desertion, or quell mutiny among men in the publick Service, under his command? This has been the case with some Officers already. With what Spirit can an officer advance Monies to Cloathe the Naked Objects, who offer themselves, as willing to serve in their severall Capacity's, if the next moment those Men may with impunity go away in a Privateer, or enter into any other Corps, either by Sea or Land? and run no risque by being detected? For mine own part I expect to be accountable to the publick, not only for my Conduct, but also for all Sums I receive from the Agents from time to time, and notwithstanding, I see myself Exposed to *bad Men* who may leave me, and the Service also, (as many have done) within twenty four hours after I advance them Money; yet I cannot see them pinch'd for want of Cloathing at this rude Season of the year, without giving them at least what will keep them from Perrishing with Cold. In this day of Trial your Honors know, that one Months pay will buy but little Cloathing for either Seamen or Marines, more must be advanc'd otherwise no Service can be expected from them. The Consequence frequently is, that those Men run off, either in Privateers, enter into some Regiment, or walk off to the next Town and there do by some other as they have done before by me. What recompence have I, or how is the Publick Service to be carried on in this way! how shall I be accountable for Monies thus Expended, or (which is a consideration still more alarming) what will become of the Morrals of the common people, unless a stop is soon put to such infamous practices! Would it not be consistent with the Wisdom and Justice of the Legislative body of this State, to do as in like cases has allways been done by prudent people, in time of War in all Countrys; and which is now practised by our Sister States, to the Southward of us, that is to make some regulation whereby all Travellers, on the Publick Roads, should be obliged to give an account of themselves, to proper persons of the Committee's of Safety, in each Town as they pass? This regulation would not be burthensome to honest Men but would Effectually stop all runaways of every denomination, and prevent many abuses which in our present deplorable Condition happens every day. Had such a regulation been attended to, some Months past, I had not been now loitering inactive in this port, nor would it have been in the power of the owners and Commander of the *Rising*

States[1] to have carried on their iniquitous Schemes and Laugh'd with impunity at your Authority.

[Memorandum] Copy to Council.

To the Council of Massachusetts[2]

Boston, January 30th, 1777.

Gentlemen: — I did apply last Monday Morning for an Order of your Honourable Board to Search a Certain Privateer call'd the *Rising States,* on board of which I had reason to think some of my Men were embark'd with an intention to desert the Publick Service.

The Order was Granted and a proper Officer appointed for that Service, but before these could be Accomplished the Vessell Sail'd.

Your Honours thought proper on further information to order Mr. Cudworth down to Plymouth, as it was reported the Privateer would call in there to receive on board a Certain Captain Thompson and others, who were to proceed on a Cruise in the Vessell Aforesaid. Mr. Cudworth did proceed to Plymouth, or near it, and return'd to this Town last evening, and reports as follows:

That being met on the road by the Hon'ble B. Genl: Warren to whom he related the Business on which he was going, the General told him that no such Vessell was or had been lately at Plymouth, on which Mr. Cudworth return'd in Company with the General and were met on the Road by our Captain of Marines whom I had dispatched after Mr. Cudworth to Assist him if Necessary.

He also returns with Genl. Warren and Mr. Cudworth and having taken Lodgings on Tuesday evening at Mr. Cushing's of Hingham, they were soon joined by the aforesaid Captn. James Thompson of the Brigt. *Rising States* who brought with him in a Coach five sailors.

Capt: Thompson seem'd a little alarm'd at seeing Mr. Cudworth and our Officer of Marines at that place before him, but as none of the five Men with him were personally known by our officer, Mr. Cudworth let them all pass. Genl. Warren advised our Captain of Marines to return to Plymouth, which he Accordingly did yesterday Morning before the Coach or its passengers were stiring. Mr. Cudworth informs no farther of his proceedings.

[1] A privateer which sailed from Boston January 26, 1777, and in April was captured by the British.

[2] Mass. Arch., CXCVI. 180.

I had sent two Officers on Tuesday to Marblehead having had information that Men were to be collected at that place and sent over to Plymouth. Those Officers are now return'd and report to me that they found a Certain Mr. Fritz, now Captain of Marines, and a Certain Mr. Martin, now Carpenter of the *Rising States,* with them. They also found about Nine Men who were then waiting an opportunity to go off on board the above mention'd Brigantine, which was then in sight Lying off, and on; on the Harbours Mouth.

My Officers apply'd to the Committee, who could give them no other Assistance than to call those Officers before them, and on examination they did confess that they were bound on a Cruise on board the said Brigantine *Rising States,* but would give no farther Satisfaction.

I thought it necessary to give your Honours the above information as soon as possible; and am Your Honours most Obedient, Humble Servant HECTOR McNEILL

RECORDS OF THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS [1]

[Extract]

April 26, 1777. In the House of Representatives. Whereas the Ships of our Enemies are daily making Captures of Vessels belonging to the Subjects of the United States and of their Allies and Friends, even within sight of our very Towns — which, if not prevented by a Superiour Force, may ruin the Trade of the said Inhabitants, etc. and be of the worst Consequences to the Interest of the United States at large —, and whereas the Owners of numbers of Armed Vessels belonging to the Inhabitants of this and some other of the United States now ready for the Sea are willing to go and Act for twenty-five days from their Sailing in Concert with the Continental Frigates the *Hancock,* commanded by Capt. John Manly, and the *Boston,* commanded by Capt. Hector McNeil, which Frigates are represented to this House as also ready for Sea, provided Capt. John Manly be furnished by this State with the Sum of four Hundred pounds and the said Capt. Hector McNeil the sum of One thousand six hundred and thirty-five pounds, eighteen Shillings and eleven pence, to enable them to put the said Ships to Sea, the said Manly and McNeil being accountable for the several Sums by them received, Therefore it is

[1] Mass. Archives.

Resolved, that there be paid out of the Treasury of this State to Capt. John Manly for the purpose aforesaid the Sum of Four Hundred pounds; and to Capt. Hector McNeil for the purpose aforesaid the said Sum of one Thousand six hundred and thirty-five pounds, eighteen Shillings and eleven pence. They being accountable for the same respectively.

In Council Read and Concurred,

Consented to by fifteen of the Council.

In the House of Representatives. The Owners and Agents of the Privateers hereafter mentioned expect that this State will Insure their Vessels at the full amount of their Outsetts from all Dangers of Seas and Enemy while under the Command of the Officer Appointed by the Court.

The Commanders and Privates of the Private Armed Vessels expect in Case of Accident to be upon the same footing exactly that the Captains Manly and McNeil and their men are, as to pensions and one months pay. The Owners expect the Ammunition expended in time of Action on this Cruize shall be made good by this State.

If any Vessel should be parted by accident from the Fleet and should take a prize or prizes before the Expiration of the Time agreed on, the prizes so taken shall be equally divided amongst the whole Fleet as tho' they had all been in Company.

The Vessells shall Cruize under Command of Captain Manly or Commanding Officer of the Continental Ships for the term of twenty-five days from the day of Sailing, unless the Commander shall come into port and discharge them sooner.

The State shall pay a Months pay to

American Tarter	24	Guns	200	Men	Capt. Grimes
General Mifflin	20	do	200	do	Capt. Day
Portsmouth	20	do	180	do	Capt. Parker
Brig *Hawk*	14		80	do	Capt. Oaks
Sloop *Satisfaction*	14		100		Capt. Wheelwright
Schooner *America*	14		100		Capt. [Daniel] McNeil
Schooner *Active*	10		65		Capt. Gardner
Schooner *Speedwell*	8		60		Capt. Greely
Schooner *Buckram*	6		45		Marony

Upon their producing a Certificate of their having performed the agreement from the Commanding Officer of this Fleet . . .

The Owners shall give Bonds and the Masters be on Oath to comply with these terms and not to leave the Fleet, but through absolute Necessity untill the Time is expired . . .

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Capt.n John Paul Jones

Sir

You are hereby Order'd and directed to attend at a Court Martial to-morrow Morning at Nine o Clock on board the Hancock in Congress Road, There to try the following Persons, Viz.t

Leblun Baker. Pilott
Phillip Bass Junr.
Nath.l Winchester
Peter Dennis
Robert Stoutly
David Ensigne
Joseph Peters
Thomas Carven

all of whom Stand Charged by Captain John Manley Commander of the said Ship for Mutiny

Fail not

Given on board the Ship Boston in Nantasket Road this 7.th day of May 1777

Hector McNeill

And the Officers of the above Vessels are permited to Inlist any man that Offer, they not belonging to the Navy or Army or any French Ship or Vessel that has or shall arrive in in this State . . .

To John Paul Jones [1]

Sir

You are hereby Order'd and directed to attend at a Court Martial tomorrow Morning at Nine o Clock on board the *Hancock* in Congress Road, there to try the following Persons, Viz't:

Leblun Baker, Pilott	Robert Stoutly
Phillip Bass Jun'r	David Ensigne
Nath'l Winchester	Joseph Petters and
Peter Jennis	Thomas Carren

all of whom Stand Charged by Captain John Manley Commander of the said Ship for Mutiny.

Fail not.

Given on board the Ship *Boston* in Nantasket Road this 7th day of May 1777.

Hector McNeill.

To William Mackay and Jonas Clark Minott [2]

Gentlemen, — You being unanimously appointed by the Ships Company of the *Boston* as joint Agents for them to receive any prize which shall be sent in to any of the Ports of the four eastern States of New England by the said Ship — This is to direct and order you in all cases which may hereafter happen how to Conduct yourselves in the Libeling, unloading, and sale of such Prize or Prizes, Namely: as soon as any prize arrives, in this, or the States above Mention'd, you do in our Names and for our behalf — instantly Libell the same, taking care to keep our prize Master with some faithfull Persons constantly on board to attend to the unloading etc. of her Cargo. This you may do in concert with the Continental Agent, taking care that himself or some one by him appointed have sufficient warning from you to attend also, and receive whatever Share of the Goods may be allotted by Congress for the Continent their Share of the Prize. This Division must be made immediately on unloading of all such Articles as can

[1] John Paul Jones mss., Library of Congress.
[2] Letter Book.

admitt of a division — the Hull of the Prize, or any thing else which cannot be divided and shared before the Sale, may be sold at publick outcry, the Money as soon as received must be divided, you taking care to Secure our parts in the most faithfull Manner — after the dividend made and you have taken our Share of the Prize into your Possession you are then to make the best of it for our advantage and keep proper Accounts of your Transactions, for which we shall allow you a Commission as in such cases is common, you will pay due attention to all such Instructions as we may hereafter send you. I am Gentlemen at the desire and in behalf of myself, the Officers and Men of the Ship *Boston* —

Dated on board the Ship *Boston* H. McN.
19th May 1777.

To the Marine Committee [1]

To the Honourable the Marine Committee of
The Honourable the Continental Congress.

Gentlemen, — The long wish'd for hour is at last come in which I bid farewell, to the sleepy Agents, disheartned Tradesmen and distress'd Seamen who frequent the Streets of Boston.

Happy should I account myself on my return from a Successfull Cruise, were I assured to find matters better conducted in this quarter than they have hitherto been but alas, Complaints Vanish into Air and there is nobody at home knock where we will.

I have formerly taken the freedom to mention the most extraordinary conduct of the Agents in withholding prize Money and Wages from the poor distress'd Seamen who have hitherto Served in the Continental Vessells — 'tis true I have no reason of Complaint myself because I never have been in the way of taking prizes, but the common feelings of humanity for my fellow Men, and the regard for public Justice which should inspire every honest Man, makes me renew this Complaint, even at the risque of your Neglect. Is it Possible for your honest hearts to Suggest That many of the Men who first enter'd into the Service on board the Ships Equip'd at Philadelphia, Winter was a year, are now in a suffering condition, Scatter'd about our Sea Port Towns in this State; nay some who have Served as Officers are reduced to such Misery and distress that they have neither Cloaths to put on nor Victuals to eat. The cry among those unhappy Men is that they

[1] Letter Book.

can neither recover Wages nor Prize Money for their past Services — can it be expected such Men will offer themselves again when we want our Ships Man'd, — or with what face can we ask them to enter, for heavens sake Gentlemen be pleased to enquire into the cause of such Complaints, and let the Wretches who would defraud the Labourer of his hire or the honest Seaman of his just due, be brought to Light; that the Odium be not cast (by our publick enemies) on the worthy managers of our affairs — indeed Gentlemen I have seen enough of this Misconduct to believe almost any Complaint in the power of Man to make — and there are such made every day by those Suffering Mortals, would Shock the heart of a Mussulman. For mine own part, I have Suffer'd so much in fitting out the Ship I now have the Honour to Command, that I do not think I would undertake such a Task again for any Sum whatever unless I was better Supported than I have been hitherto.

The very Interest of Money which I have borrowed and advanced to Carry on the Service of this Ship, would have mentained my Family in Credits, and Mr. Cushing expects that I take all this trouble, and risque on myself without a Commission, nay I have been Obliged to quarrell for Money to pay Men and Officers their Wages up to the 31st of March last — so unreasonable has he been as to insist on the Men's going to Sea, some with Six, others Nine, and some a Twelve Months Wages due. This kind of Treatment to Officers and Men will not do, Gentlemen. They must be duely paid their prize Money as soon as the prize is Sold and the Accounts wound up. They must be paid their Wages allways up to one Month. This will enable them to support themselves and their Familys. Whereas the Mode to this time has left both to starve, on which conditions no good man will stay in the Service. For my part I will freely tell you my Thoughts, be the event what it will, or may it respect whom it will. I have no croneys, or Acquaintance to whom I will either Sacrifise the Publick Service or rights of my Brother Seamen. I will not live, where they are oppress'd or defrauded — you will therefore I hope Excuse my plain dealing — as what I Sincerely intend is the good of the Service I am Engaged in, and I know it is impossible that can be carried on to good purpose, unless the Strictest Justice be done to the honest fellows who must do the work. To secure which my present plan is to have Agents appointed by the Ships Companys, Officers as well as Men — which Agents shall Libel and receive the true proportion of all Prize Goods allowed the Ships Company by the Resolves

of Congress and let the Continental Agent appear also and receive that Share which of right belongs to the Continent. This Rule to be observed in all things that can possibly be divided — the hull of the Prize or any thing which cannot be so divided to be Sold at Publick outcry and the N't Proceeds divided instantly to those Separate Agents for the use of their Constitutents. We have no Idea of the Justice there may be in the Continental Agents taking possession of a Prize the instant she arrives in Port — putting in creatures of his own making to attend the delivery and Sale of her Cargo — then keeping the Captors for Months and Years out of their dividend of Prize Money while they are Starving in want and Misery. This Method which I now propose if approv'd of by the Honourable Congress will cutt off all reasons of Complaint against the Publick Agent on the Score of Prize Money, and he may also be a Check on the Companys Agents; Then their will be a probability of Mens receiving their Money as soon after the Prize is Sold as Possible — Whereas the Contrary has hitherto been Manifest. We are much at a Loss how to Conduct ourselves and earnestly wish for some Solid plan for the better regulation of our affairs. I think in Conscience a Man who takes so great a Charge on himself both in providing things for the Ship and paying the Men, ought to have a Commission on the Business he does and not the Lazy Agent who rather Mars than forwards things. I submitt the whole to your Candour and am with all possible respect Your most Obedient and most humble Servant,

H. McNeill

Ship *Boston* at Sea,
21st May 1777.

Supplement to the foregoing Letter to the Marine Committee of 21st May 1777.

I cannot let this Letter go without putting you in Mind of two Sorts of Men who appear to be much Neglected by the Hon'ble Congress, I mean the Surgeons and Chaplains of the Navy, if something better be not done for them, you may be Assured that all the Able Men of both Professions will quit the Service.

I am Gentlemen with true respect Your most Obedient Servant

H: McNeill

Ship *Boston* at Sea,
21st May 1777.

1777

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE NAMES OF OFFICERS AND MEN BELONGING TO THE SHIP *BOSTON*[1]

Starb^{d}: watch. Austin....Cato Gun N^{o}: 1

Starb^{d}: watch. Bowen....Henry Gun N 27
Larb^{d}: watch. Balch....Israel
Larb^{d}: watch. Boldery....John
Starb^{d}: watch. Bussell....Abraham
Larb^{d}: watch. Brown....Jeremiah F. Braces & Crossjack do
Starb^{d}: watch. Blasdell....Jonathan Gun N 7
Blackett....Joshua Forecastle
Brown....Scipio to hand Powder main hatchway
Balch....Thomas Sentinel in Ward Room
Bangs....Chipman Quart^{r}: Deck
Billiard....John Quart^{r}: Deck
Larb^{d}: watch. Brown....John Gundeck forward [1st Lieut.]
Balch....Benj^{a}: in the Cockpitt [Chaplain]
Starb^{d}: watch. Berry....Thomas Gun N 3
Larb^{d}: watch. Barker....Thomas Gun N 27
Starb^{d}: watch. Burns....Patrick Gunn N 12
Starb^{d}: watch. Beal....Ebenezer Gun N 11
Larb^{d}: watch. Broadstreet....Northern
Starb^{d}: watch. Bradstreet....Hannibal F. Topsail Braces
Starb^{d}: watch. Bathorick....Abel

Larb^{d}: watch. Carleton....Sam^{l}: Fore Topsail Braces
Starb^{d}: watch. Connor....Patrick F. Braces & Crossjack do
do Clark....Peter Gun N 3
do Crowningshield....Benj^{a}: Gun N 9
do Cavey....Peter Gun N 27
Larb^{d}: watch. Costelloe....John Gun N^{o}: 8
Larb^{d}: watch. Connell....Phillip Gun N^{o}: 25
Larb^{d}: watch. Cutter....Thomas Gun N 11
Starb^{d}: watch. Crowely....Barth^{w}: in Fore Top
Larb^{d}: watch. Calef....Winter F. Braces & Crossjack do
Larb^{d}: watch. Clough....Duke Gun N 2
Larb^{d}: watch. Calderwood....John
Larb^{d}: watch. Crowel....William Gun N 4
Larb^{d}: watch. Carrel....John Fore Top
Starb^{d}: watch. Coker....William M & Miz^{n}: T. S. Braces
Starb^{d}: watch. Carr....Phineas Gun N 9
Starb^{d}: watch. Crane....Benj^{a}:
Choate....John Gun N 11
Starb^{d}: Watch. Cateran....Will^{m}: Gun N 4
Larb^{d}: watch. Connell....Henry Gun N^{o}: 2
Starb^{d}: watch. Chaddock....John

[1] From the Gray Papers.

Starb^{d}: watch. Cowart....Cornelius Fore Braces &c
Larb^{d}: watch. Connell....Patrick Gun N 29
Starb^{d}: watch. Crowel....Christ^{r}: Gun N 9
Starb^{d}: watch. Cossa....Ezekiel Fore Top
Starb^{d}: watch. Connell....Dennis to attend lights between decks
Larb^{d}: watch. Coupi....John F. Braces & Crossjack do

Larb^{d}: watch. Davis....Thomas Main Rigging
Starb^{d}: watch. Dalaney....John Forecastle
Starb^{d}: watch. Dodge....Zachariah
Larb^{d}: watch. Dodge....Hampshire Gun N 10
Starb^{d}: watch. Dodge....James
Starb^{d}: watch. Downs....Joseph
Davis....William in the Cockpitt
Starb^{d}: watch. Dovrell....Thomas Gun N 11

Larb^{d}: watch. Elmes....James Main Top
Starb^{d}: watch. Elmes....Elkanah
Starb^{d}: watch. Elliot....John M & Miz^{n}: T. S. Braces

Larb^{d}: watch. Faris....William Gun N 12
Starb^{d}: watch. Frame....Robert Gun N 25
Starb^{d}: watch. Fitzgerald....John Main Rigging
Starb^{d}: watch. Fitzgerald....James Gun N 12
Starb^{d}: watch. Freeman....Adam Gun N^{o}: 7
Starb^{d}: watch. Foster....Benj^{a}: — Gun N 9
Starb^{d}: watch. French....James Gun N 6
Starb^{d}: watch. Fullerton....John M & Miz^{n}: T. S. Braces
Starb^{d}: watch. Freeman....Nero Gun N^{o}: 11
Larb^{d}: watch. Freeman....Cuff
Starb^{d}: watch. Fowles....Lemuel Fore Top
Faris....Jack to hand Powder main hatch way
Foster....Thomas at the Magazine
Furlong....Lawrence Quart^{r}: deck
Fairweather....Cæsar to hand Powder fore hatch way

Larb^{d}: watch. Green....Henry in the Ward Room
Starb^{d}: watch. Gillard....John Forecastle
Starb^{d}: watch. Garratt....John Gun N 25
Larb^{d}: watch. Gouge....James
Larb^{d}: watch. Gott....Joshua Gun N 10
Starb^{d}: watch. Griffen....James — Gun N 9
Larb^{d}: watch. Gray....Samuel Gun N 4
Gilbert....Prince to hand Powder fore hatch way
Gragg....Samuel to hand Powder fore hatch way
Starb^{d}: Watch. Gross....Simon Gun deck abaft [Lieut.]

Starb^{d}: watch. Harris....John
Larb^{d}: watch. Hogg....Eben^{r}: — Gun N 10
Larb^{d}: watch. Hall....John
Larb^{d}: watch. Henderson....Joseph Gun N 4
Larb^{d}: watch. Harraden....Dan^{l}: — Gun N 10
Larb^{d}: watch. Horne....Dan^{l}:

Larbd: watch. Hathaway....Charles M & Mizn: T. S. Braces
Larbd: watch. Harraden....Joseph Main Top
Starbd: watch. Hopkins....Nathl: Mizn: Mast
Larbd: watch. Hudson....Thomas Gun No: 6
Larbd: watch. Hutchins....Wm: Main Mast
Larbd: watch. Heck....Francis M & Mizn: T. S. Braces
Larbd: watch. Henderson....Benja: — Gun N 1
Starbd: watch. Hewes....John at the Wheel
Starbd: watch. Holliday....John Main Top

Starbd: watch. Jennison....William [Lt. Marines]
Starbd: watch. Johnson....Benja:
Starbd: watch. Jones....Alexr: Gun No: 8
Starbd: watch. Irish....John Gun N 8
Starbd: watch. Ingersoll....Joseph Gun N 11

Larbd: watch. Kelly....Mathew Fore Braces & Crossjack Braces Starboard Side
Starbd: watch. Knowles....James Gun No: 6
Larbd: watch. Kimball....Edward Gun N 29
Larbd: watch. Killmarnock....Alexr: Gun N 5
Starbd: watch. Keef....John M. Topsail Braces

Larbd: watch. Low....John at the Wheel
Larbd: watch. Lowell....Ezra at the Spare Tiller
Larbd: watch. Leadan....John Gun N 4
Larbd: watch. Lovering....Thos:
Larbd: watch. Lunt....Timothy Gun No: 6
Larbd: watch. Leblanch....Lewis Main Top
Larbd: watch. Lloyd....Arthur Gun N 10
Larbd: watch. Lee....Cæsar F. Braces & Crossjack do
Starbd: watch. Leadbetter....Increase
Larbd: watch. Liscomb....William Gun N 27
Lamb....William Quartr: Deck
Lewis....Joseph Forecastle
Larbd: watch. Lubey....Richard Fore Topsl: Braces
L. Linn....John in the Cockpitt [Surgeon]

Mc:Neill....Hector Esqr: Qur: Deck
Larbd: watch. Mc:Neill....Robt: [1st Lt. Marines]
Starbd: watch. Mitchell....John Fore Topsail Braces
Starbd: watch. Milne....John Gun N 5
Larbd: watch. McNeill....Hectr: Junr: Gun No: 11
Larbd: watch. Mitchell....George — Gun N 7
Starbd: watch. Murphy....Michael in Ward Room
Larbd: watch. Morgan....John — Gun N 8
Larbd: watch. Munro....William Gun N 5
Starbd: watch. Mc:Kinnon....Charles Gun No: 3
Larbd: watch. Mc:Dowell....Edward Gun N 11
Starbd: watch. Meservey....Phillip Gun N 25
Starbd: watch. Masterman....James M. T. S. Braces
Starbd: watch. Morgan....Thomas Main Top
Starbd: watch. McIntyer....Wm: Gun N 29

Larb^{d}: watch. MITCHELL....JOSHUA in the Hold
Larb^{d}: watch. MITCHELL....JOSEPH Gun N^{o}: 1
Larb^{d}: watch. MOULTON....BARTH^{w}:
Larb^{d}: watch. MEHANEY....JEREMIAH St^{d}: M. Sh^{rds}:
Larb^{d}: watch. MULLCAHEY....MICHAEL Gun N 7
Larb^{d}: watch. MURRAY....JOHN — Gun N 9
Starb^{d}: watch. M^{c}:LAUGHLIN....LAW^{ce}: Gun N^{o}: 10
Starb^{d}: watch. MASCOLL....JOSEPH larb^{d}: M^{n}: Shrouds
Starb^{d}: watch. M^{c}NEILL....CHARLES to attend lights between decks
Larb^{d}: watch. MOODY....SAMUEL Main Top
Larb^{d}: watch. MUGFORD....W^{m}: Gun N 6
Starb^{d}: watch. MULLING....W^{m}: Gun N 25
MESCHINET....JN^{o}: in the Cockpitt
Starb^{d}: watch. M^{c}ELROY....DAVID M & Miz^{n}: T. S. Braces

Larb^{d}: watch. NOBEL....MARK Gun N^{o}: 7
Starb^{d}: watch. NOWELL....SAM^{l}: Gun N 3
Starb^{d}: watch. NOCK....JAMES
Starb^{d}: watch. NEWMAN....W^{m}:
Larb^{d}: watch. NICHOLS....ROB^{t}: Gun N^{o}: 1
Larb^{d}: watch. NOWLAN....RICH^{d}:

Starb^{d}: watch. O BRIEN....WILL^{m}: Gun N 4
Larb^{d}: watch. O BRIEN....JOSEPH Gun N 2
Larb^{d}: watch. OSGOOD....NEHEMIAH Gun N 29

Starb^{d}: watch. PARROTT....JOHN M & Miz^{n}: T. S. Braces
Starb^{d}: watch. PETTIT....JOSEPH F. Braces & Crossjack do
Larb^{d}: watch. PARSONS....ZACCHEUS Gun N 12
Larb^{d}: watch. PARKER....CALEB — Gun N 9
Larb^{d}: watch. PERKINS....THOMAS
Larb^{d}: watch. PETTINGALE....EPHRAIM Gun N 4
Starb^{d}: watch. PARKER....THOMAS Fore Top
Larb^{d}: watch. PLUNKET....ABRAHAM
Larb^{d}: watch. PHELPS....AHOLIAB
Larb^{d}: watch. PEDERSON....HANTS Gun N 5
Starb^{d}: watch. PEIRCE....BENJ^{a}: Gun N 7
Starb^{d}: watch. POTTER....JOHN
Larb^{d}: watch. PERRY....JACOB
Starb^{d}: watch. PHILBROOK....JOEL
Larb^{d}: watch. PITTS....BOSTON Fore Braces &c
Starb^{d}: watch. PETTERS....POMP Gun N 8
Starb^{d}: watch. PAINE....RICHARD Gun N 3
Larb^{d}: watch. PARSONS....W^{m}: Gun N 12
Larb^{d}: watch. PARKER....JOSEPH Fore Top
PALMES....RICHARD [Capt. Marines]

Larb^{d}: watch. ROGERS....CHACE Gun N^{o}: 6
Starb^{d}: watch. ROPES....WILLIAM Gun N 2
Larb^{d}: watch. RYAN....MICHAEL Gun N^{o}: 5
Starb^{d}: watch. RICKER....JOHN to attend the lights between decks

Starb^{d}: watch. Stockbridge....Sam^{l}:
do Smith....John — at the Wheel
Larb^{d}: watch. Smith....Andrew Gun N 2
Larb^{d}: watch. Shaw....Thomas Forecastle
Starb^{d}: watch. Stiles....Richard Miz^{n}: Mast
Starb^{d}: watch. Snooks....William Main Top
Starb^{d}: watch. Sleeper....John — in the Hold
Larb^{d}: watch. Smith....Joseph
Larb^{d}: watch. Sherburne....Tho^{s}:
Larb^{d}: watch. Sampson....Nath^{l}:
Starb^{d}: watch. Sims....James Fore Top
Starb^{d}: watch. Storow....Jethro Gun N 12
Starb^{d}: watch. Sprague....Labon
Starb^{d}: watch. Sweetland....Rich^{d}: Gun N 5
Sawyer....Moses in the Cockpitt
Starb^{d}: watch. Shoot....Adam in Fore Top
Larb^{d}: watch. Sullaway....John

Starb^{d}: Watch. Tapping....Benj^{a}: Gun N 10
Larb^{d}: watch. Taylor....James Gun N 3
Starb^{d}: watch. Tobine....Patrick Gun N 8
Larb^{d}: watch. Terry....London Gun N 5
Starb^{d}: watch. Thornton....James Main Top
Starb^{d}: watch. Tifft....Mathew Gun N 1
Larb^{d}: watch. Tree....Francis Gun N 2

Larb^{d}: watch. Webber....Dan^{l}: Main & Miz^{n}: Top S^{l}: Braces
Larb^{d}: watch. Willson....John Gun N^{o}: 2
Larb^{d}: watch. Whalon....And^{w}: Gun N 12
Larb^{d}: watch. Wisdom....John Gun N 12
Larb^{d}: watch. Welch....Walter — Fore Top
Larb^{d}: watch. Wise....W^{m}: to hand Powder after hatch way
Larb^{d}: watch. Woodbery....Cornelius
Larb^{d}: watch. Webb....John — Gun N^{o}: 8
Starb^{d}: watch. Wood....John
Larb^{d}: watch. Willson....James Main Top
Starb^{d}: watch. Woodman....Benj^{a}: Gun N 6
Larb^{d}: watch. Wood....Cato Fore Topsail Braces
Larb^{d}: watch. Winslow....Nicholas to hand Powder after hatchway
Starb^{d}: watch. Waters....William
Starb^{d}: watch. Wetherell....Abel to hand Powder main hatchway
Starb^{d}: watch. Williams....Benj^{a}:
Woodwell....Gideon in the Hold
Starb^{d}: watch. Washburn....Gideon
Starb^{d}: watch. Williams....Charles
Starb^{d}: watch. Wood....Cuff F. Braces & Crossjack
Starb^{d}: watch. Woodberry....Lemuel Gun N 1
Larb^{d}: watch. Wright....W^{m}: Gun N 7
Starb^{d}: watch. Webber....Richard Gun N 10
Woodman....Daniel Gun N 3
Starb^{d}: watch. Woodwell....Gideon Jun^{r}: Gun N 1
Larb^{d}: watch. Welch....Hezekiah, in the Waist [Lieut.]

A Journal of our Intended Cruse in the Good Ship *Boston*

Bound out a Cruse by God's parmission.
Hector McNeill, Esq'r, Commander.[1]

On the 21 of May at 12 on meriden the Commodore fird Signal for Sailing. The fleet got under way at 2 p.m. and stood to Sea so God be pleased to send us to our desired port againe in Safty. This 24 hours Ends with a fresh Breeze. Nothing Remarkable.

Thursday, *May* the 22. At 6 in the morning made the Land in off Boston. At 10 a.m. Bore away for the Eastern point. At 11 the *tartar*[2] Joned us and a small privetare[3] Commanded by one Capt. Morone. She Inform us that She spake a Scooner from Cape Cod that was Chaced in by two frigats belongin to the British tyrants. It is Supposed that we are a goin in pursute of them. Their is 2 frigats and 2 20 Guns Ships and 6 armed Vesels of us all. This 24 hours ends Clear and pleasant.

Friday, 23. This 24 hours Begins with a fresh Breeze. Lay of and on. Capt. M's Boat Came on Bord. Cape Ann Bore NNE Dist. 4 Leag. Stood to the N.

At 2 a.m. Wore Ship. Laid hir head to the So. At 8 a.m. Cape Ann Bore NWBW Dist. 7 Leagues. Nothing Remarkable this 24 hours.

Saturday the 24 of *May*, 1777. This 24 hours Begins with a Moderate Breze and Clear weather. At 6 p.m. TK [tacked] Ship Laid hir head to westward. Hald up the Coursees handed the Staisels.

At 8 p.m. saw a Saile to Leward. Bore up for hir. Sat F. S. and mizen. At 11 p.m. tack Ship. At 2 p.m. saw Capt. Manly in Chace of a Ship. At 3 p.m. saw Cape Ann. We Bore a way two for the Chace with all Sails sot. Chaced hir in off portsmouth. It proved to be the *portsmouth*[4] frigate Capt. parcker Commander. So Ends this 24 hours with moderate weather, 9 Saile of the fleet in sight.

Sunday, *May* 25. This 24 hours Begins with Clear weather and Small Brezes of wind. At 4 p.m. portsmouth Bore NBW dist. 5 Leagues. At 6 the Isle of Sholes Bore WBN dist. 4 Legues. Lay two with hir head to the SE with the FTS to the mast. At 8 p.m. Spake the Commoder. At 4 a.m. made saile. At 10 a.m. the fleet hove two. Saw the Land.

[1] From the Gray Papers.
[2] The privateer *American Tartar.*
[3] Schooner *Buckram,* Captain Marony.
[4] The privateer *Portsmouth.*

At 12 or meridian Wood Island Bore NWBW Distance 3 Leagues. From that I tacke my departure Being in the Lattude of 43.43 and Longitude 68.18 W.

Monday, 26. This 24 hours Begins Hazey weather. At 2 p.m. set the F. hove the mizen T.S. to the mast to speak the Commander. At 3 a.m. the *Mifline* [1]Bore a way for falmouth. She had the small pox on Bord.

No Obs.

Tusday the 27. This 24 hours Begins Strong Gails and Drizlen Raine. Parted with all the fleet but one and that is the Commodore. Latter part of this 24 hours ends with Strong Gails and Shiped a Great Deal of water. Distance per Log 100 mils.

No Obs.

Wednesday the 28. This 24 hours Begins with a fresh Gale and a heavey Sea under Reeft Courses. At 6 p.m. Capt. Manly came up and Joined us. At 10 Hald up the M. S.

Latter part of this 24 hours ends with Strong Gails and Larg Sea from the Eastward.

No Obs. to day.

Thusday, 29th. This 24 hours Begins with a fresh Breze and Clear weather. Capt. Manly in Company with us. Nothing Remarkable.

Friday 30. This 24 hours Begins with modrate Breaze and a heavey Sea from the Eastward. At 6 p.m. saw a Saile to the So. Gave Chace. At ½ past 7 Came up with the Chace witch proved to be a Brig from London Bound to York Laden with Marchandize who Gave us Intelligence that she sailed in company with 7 Sail of transports having on Bord 3500 troops under Convoy with the *Sumer Set* [*Somerset*] of 64 Guns and the *Marcerry* [*Mercury*] of 28 Bound for York. At 5 a.m. saw 4 Saile to windward Standing to the west. Gave Chace and Cleard Ship for Engagement. Lay by till they Came with in Gun Shot of Capt Manly. We Stood a Long upon a wind in order to Cut of Some of the transports. She fird Sevral Guns at Capt. Manly and he Returned the Same.

Saturday, *May* 31, 1777. This 24 hours Begins with Modrate Breaze and a tumbling Sea.

The *Sumer Set* Still in Chace of us. Capt. Manly to Leeyard all most out of sight. At 6 p.m. she tack Ship and Stood for hir Ship. Latter part Ends with Cloudy. L. 37.51.

Sunday, *June* the 1 1777. This 24 hours Begins with a fresh Gale and Large Sea witch makes our Ship Labour and Ship much water.

[1] The privateer *General Mifflin*.

Capt. Manly in Company. Ends with fresh Gails and Raine. 38.01.

Monday 2d. This 24 hours Begin with fresh Gails and Cloudy weather. At 6 p.m. Spake Capt. Manly who desires us to hall to the South ward while he to the No. to keep the Better Lookout.

Tuesday 3. This 24 hours Begins a Modrate Breze and Squalley with Raine.

Wednesday the 4 of *June*. This 24 hours Begins with Light Breze and Clear weather.

Thursday the 5. This 24 hours Begins with Modrate Breze and hazey weather. All hands Employ'd a Bout Sundres Needfull.

Friday the 6. This 24 hours Begins with pleasant weather. At 3 p.m. Capt. Manlys Boat Came on Board. At 4 p.m. Saw a Saile Leeyard. At 6 Do. Came up with hire. She proved to be a Brig from St. Johns a fishing on gran Bank. Histed out our Boat and went on Board took out the priseners and Set hir on fire.

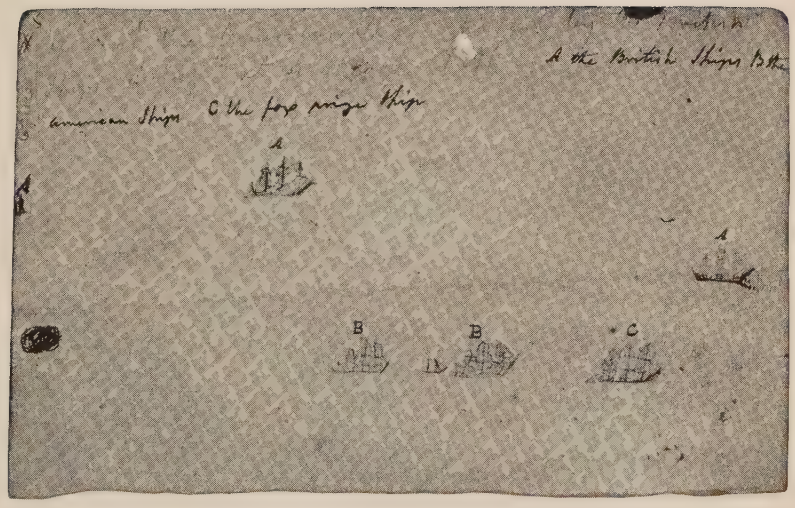
Saw a Small Scooner to Leeyard.

Saturday, *June* 7, 1777. The first part of this 24 hours was foggey. At 4 P.M. it Cleard a way. Capt Manly sent his Boat on Board of us. One of His Lievt. Mr. Adams came to acquaint us of what Signels to make in a fogg. At 6 p.m. see a Saile to Lewaid we Bore Down to hire when we Came up with hire we found hir to be a fishing Vessaile Belong to Dartmouth in England. Capt. Manly sent his Boat on Bord and we sent our Boat on Bord, took the people out and Sundery Small things and Set hir on fire and then we Steard NNE all Night. At Day Light we see Sevrall Small Bankers. At 5 a.m. we made a Larg Ship Laying by our two Ships. Stood for hire; at 6 a.m. Capt. Manly and she Exchanged some guns and then she Runn and we in full Chace after hir.

Sunday 8, 1777. This 24 Begins with fresh Breze and Larg Sea. Betwixt the Hour of 12 and one P.M. Capt. Manly Began to Engage Broide Side and Broide Side, our Ship Coming up fast as Posable at Last we Came up and Gave them a Noble Broid Side witch made them to Strike a meadeatly a Bout half after one. Capt. Manly had some men killed and so had the frigate Cald the *fox*. Besides Both frigates ware Damaged in their Sails and Rigen. The *fox* had some of hir yards shot away. We had but little Damage done to us, no Life Lost thanks Be to God and after the Engage was over the fishing vesels tacking us to be British Ships they Came down to us for purtection.

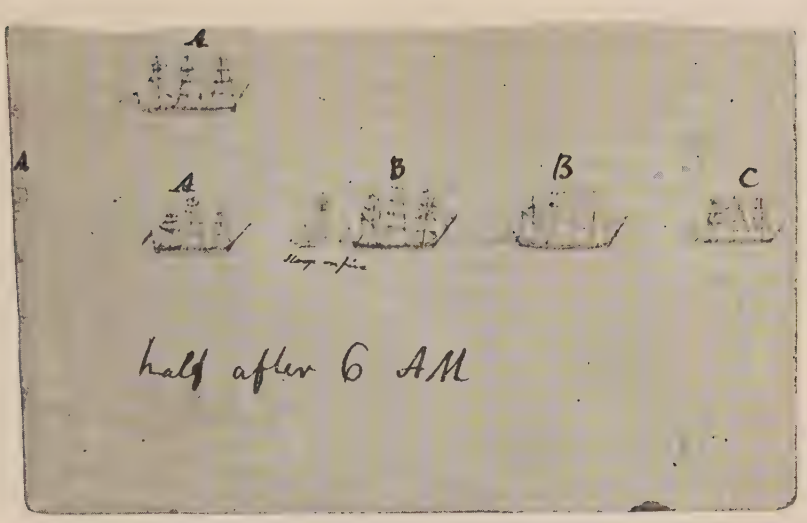
Monday the 9. This 24 hours Begins with fresh Brezes and

Sketches by Captain McNeill illustrating the chase and engagements of July 7, 1777.
(Gray Papers)



A
A
B
B
C
at 5 oClock A M

A
A
B
B
C
at 6 oClock A M


A
A
B
B
C
half after 6 AM

A
B
C

Cloudy. Employd Gitting the prize in order to Cruse with us 10 Saile of fishermen in Sight.

Tusday the 10 *June*. This 24 hours Begins Cloudy weather. Nothing Remarkable.

Wednesday the 11 *June*. This 24 hours Begins with Small winds and vreable. The *fox* and *handcock* in Company.

Thursday the 12. First part of this 24 hours Begins with Cloudy weather. At 10 a.m. saw two Sails to the Eastward made saile for them. Came up with them found them to be 2 of our Concorts that saild in Company with us.

Friday the 13. This 24 hours Begins with Clear weather and pleasant.

Saturday the 14. This 24 hours Begins with a fresh Breze.

Sunday the 15. First part of this 24 hours Begins with pleasant weather. Parted with Capt. Grely.[1]

Monday the 16. This 24 hours Begins with Cloudy weather and a Larg Sea from the Eastward.

Tuesday the 17 of *June*. This 24 hours Begins with a pleasant Breaze. At 3 p.m. saw a Saile to the westward. TK [tacked] Ship, stood for hir. She proved to be Spannish Brig.

Saw a Nother Saile to Leeyard. Capt. Manly Gave Chace for hir. Came up with hire. She proved to be a French Ship from Cape franceway. At 8 a.m. saw a ship to Leeyard made Saile. She prove to Be a Spannish Ship. Parted with Capt. Gardner in a small privtere.[2]

Wednesday the 18 of *June*, 1777. This 24 hours Begins with hazey weather and something Cloudy.

Thusday the 19 1777. This 24 hours Begins with Clear and pleasant weather. At 10 a.m. Thomas Shaw fell from the main top mast Cap Down in the m. top and Cracked his Scull in two places and all most dead.

Friday the 20 of *June*. This 24 hours Begins with Clear and pleasant weather.

Satrday the 21 of *June*. This 24 hours Begins with a fresh Breeze and Clear.

Sunday the 22 of *June*. This 24 hours Begins with Modrate.

At 4 p.m. Mr. Hill Come on Bord after some offercer to Gow on Bord the *fox*. Their went on Bord Mr. Groce and Mr. Milen and Mr. Knowls.

Monday the 23 of *June*. This 24 hours Begins with Cloudy weather.

[1] Commanding the schooner *Speedwell*, privateer.

[2] The schooner *Active*.

Tusday the 24 of *June*. This 24 hours Begins with Clouse Cloudy weather and a few Shours of Raine.

Wednesday the 25 of *June*. This 24 hours Begins with Clear and pleasant weather and Smooth Sea. Got up to[p]G yard.

Thusday the 26. This 24 hours Begins with a fresh Breze and Cloudy. At 1 p.m. Gave over Chaceing a Small Scooner took hir to be one of the amaracan priveters. No Obs'r.

Friday the 27. This 24 hours Begins with a fresh Breeze and full of fogg. No Obs'r.

Saturday 28. This Begins with Clear and pleasant weather. Latter part ful of fogg.

Sunday 29. This 24 hours Begins full of fogg.

Monday 30. This 24 hours Begins modrate and Hazey weather.

Tusday *July* 1. This 24 hours Begin with fogg weather and full of Raine.

Wednesday *July* 2. This 24 hours Begins with hazey wather and small Raine.

Thusday the 3. This 24 hours Begins with fresh Gailes.

Friday the 4 of *July*. This 24 hours Begins with Hazey weather. At 7 full of fogg in all Small Sailes. At 7 p.m. spoke the *fox* they tould us that they had Lost Joshua Mitchel over Bord. At 8 p.m. hove two and Sounded found 45 fathom of water. At 9 made Saile. At 6 a.m. hove two and Caught Sevral Codfish.

Saturday the 5 of *July*. This 24 hours Begins Hazey weather. Caught Sevrall Cusk

Sunday the 6 of *July*. This first part Small winds and very foggey. At 4 a.m. a Squall of Raine Shifted the wind to the Norrad and fine Clear weather made the Land. At 5 a.m. see a Saile Barring WSW at 8 oclock came up with hir. She was a Sloop from Spanish River Bound to Halifax Capt. Hinkston, Command. We have made a prise of hir and Capt. Manly has got hir in tow. At 8 a.m. hoisted out the Pinnis and Capt. McNeill sent Leut. welch on Bord Capt. Manly with a Letter and at his Return the Pinnis went on Bord the *fox* with the Doctor to Tarrey.

Mounday, *July* 7, 1777. At 12 p.m. Cape Sables Bore WBN Dist. a Bout 7 Leag. This 24 hours attended with Pleasent weather, Light wind. At 6 oclock p.m. see two vesails[1] to the Eastward of us. At 4 a.m. see them again Bearring to the Eastwart. Still at 5 a.m. made a Saile[2] Bairing to W, we going WbS. She past us and gave us two guns, as soon as she got in our wake She put a Bout and stood for us and came up with us fast and we

[1] The British ship *Rainbow* and brig *Victor*.

[2] The British frigate *Flora*.

playd a way with our Stairn Chases. At 11 a.m. Capt. Manly and the *fox* and frigate till Darck and could see the frigate two guns after 11 we began to Engage and had it very warm. the *fox* being to Lewyard the frigat at hir and she Run be fore the wind. Ther was a two Decker [1] under our Lee, we ware a Stoping our Shot holes, we thought Not Safe to follow.

Tusday, *July* 8. This 24 hours Light winds Pleasant weather. At 12 p.m. Capt. Manly put a Bout Stood after the *fox*, the two Decker gave Chace to him and fird Sevral guns. He stood away as fast as posable. The frigate [2] and *fox* made a Running fight, they stood away a Bout NNE, we stood about NWBN. We lost Sight of Capt. Manly a Bout 4 p.m. But we keep Sight of the *fox* and our Ship put a Bout and stood for hir; at 35 Minnites shot off the *fox*, and thought the *fox* gaind of hir. The frigate mounted 32 or 36 Guns. We are Surrounded with Ships all Round. At 5 a.m. we heard Guns for a Long time. We Expect some Engagement Soon. We had one Wasborn kiled out Rig[ht], one Green a Quarter master wounded in the Leg, had it Cut of at 8 p.m., died at 4 A.M. See the Land.

Wednesday the 9. At 12 p.m. the Sile [Seal] Islands Bore N Dist. a Bout 6 Leg'e at 8 p.m. they Bore E't a Bout 9 Le'e.

The first part of this 24 hours Modrate pleasant we going under all the Saile that we Could Tack, the Latter part a fresh Gale in all Small Sailes. Expecting Every moment to make the Land. Saw a plenty of Rock wead and old Logs of wood. I Could hearitly wich the *Hancock* and *fox* was with us for we are all Most in a Good harbour thanks Be to God.

Thusday the 10 of *July*. The first part of this 24 Hours foggey. Sounded Seveiral tims got Bottom from 50 to 60 and 70 fathom. Cach plenty of Mackrell and Cod. At 4 a.m. the fogg cleard away and we made the Land off Menheagin [Monhegan] and fine and pleasa[nt] weather. A Number of Small Craft afishing. At 5 oclock this afternoon we Came to an anchor in Sheeps Gut River all well Bord. We have had Sevral men on Bord witch Informes us that the *Milford* [3] has Bin up the River.

Fryday 11. This day pleasant weather. At 10 clock a.m. waide anchor. Came up the River as far as wishcasset Point ware we Murrey Came on Bord and sume more of the Pornceple men of the town.

Saturday ye 12 of *July*. This Day Modrate Pleasant weather the wind to the Eastward. Laying at anchor in Sheeps Gut.

Sunday ye 13 of *July*. This Day Pleasant weather the wind to

[1] The *Rainbow*. [2] *Flora*. [3] A British frigate.

the Eastward. Our Capt. with Sevral Gentlemen went to townsend [Boothbay Harbor] in the Barg. Nothing Remarkable.

Mounday ye 14 of *July*. This day Nothing Remarkable. Fine pleasent weather. The Capt. Returned from towns End.

Tusday ye 15 of *July*. This day fine Pleasent weather but very warme. The Comt. of Saifty came on Bord to see Capt. McNeill. For my part i hope that we shall Saill from hear Son.

Wednesday ye 16. This day very pleasant weather. At 4 a.m. Creand Ship Cleand hir Bottom and paid it with Sope and tallow. Nothing Remarkable.

Thusday ye 17. This day very pleasant weather. We have watered our Ship and wooded and have onmored So that the first wind that will Permit us to gow down River I Expect we shall go. Our Prisseners forteen in Number set of this Day for Boston. I have mored our Ship how Long to Stay God onley knows. Parson hope we shall away to Morrow.

Fryday 18. This day very pleasent weather Light wind but very veriable. We are all Redy to gow down the River.

Saturday 19. This day Pleasent weather. Nothing Remarkable. The wind is at the Southward we Cant Git dow[n] the River.

Sunday 20 of *July*. This Day Nothing Remarkable a most of the Officers a Shore to Meating.

Mounday 21. This day Pleasant weather. Our Master and Pilot gone after some Provisions for the Ship. We are waighting for a wind to git out. Capt. McNeill Rec'd a Letter from Pourtsmouth from Capt. Tomson[1] by an Express. I hope to be their very Soon my Self.

Tusday 22. This Morning Raine wind NNE. We hove up at 6 a.m. came down the River. Fine Breze. Left our parson on Shore. The wind Soon grew Small and Came to the Southward. We beat some time. Lost ground. It Sot in very foggey. at 6 p.m. Came to an anchor and Cought some fresh fish and as we Come out we saw a Ship standing to the westward witch we toock to be a prise, thou we have had Not the Good fortain to tacke any.

Wednesday 23. This day pleasent weather. At 8 a.m. came to Saile with the wind to the Northward and Stood to the Westward.

Thusday 24 of *July*. This Morning Begins of Cape Elizabeth. Small wind to the Southward. Bore away. Came in to falmouth and Came to anchor a Bout 10 oclock a.m. we mord Ship.

Fryday 25 of *July*. This day Pleasent weather winds to the Southward. Nothing Remarkable. We keep Employd a bout the Ships Duty. Our Capt. dined on Shore.

[1] Captain Thomas Thompson, Continental Navy.

Saturday 26 of *July*. This day Pleasent weather, the wind to the Southward. Now way Likely for a wind to go away. Our people Brewing Bear. Nothing very Remarkable.

Sunday 27 of *July*. This day we had a Sermon on Bord. Nothing Rema[rkable].

Mounday 28 of *July*. This day Pleasant weather small winds to the Southward. Our People on Shore a Brewing. Our pinnes Employd a fishing.

Tusday 29 of *July*, 1777. This morning very Calm and warm the Middle part Raine and Some Thunder the Latter part Pleasant. We are still Brewing Bear.

Wednesday 30, 1777. This Morning very pleasent wind to the Northward. Expecting we should come to Saile and go for Pourtsmouth but disapointed. At 7 oclock our Pinnis went on Shore. Brought of 4 Quarters of Beef. At 10 a.m. had a man flogd 3 Doz. Our Capt. Came on Bord with Sevral Gentlemen and orderd all hands to Quarters a Medeatly their was a Larg Ship a Comeing in. It proved to be a prize.

Thusday, *July* 31, 1777. This day Pleasent weather wind to the Southward. Nothing very Remarkable. Arrived hear Capt. Greenleaf from Newbery to day and prise Brigg. Our Capt. and Doctor and Mr. Balch dined on Shore.

Fryday, *Aug't* 1, 1777. This 24 hours winds to the Northward. Latter part to the South. A Number of Gentlemen dined on Board to day with the Capt. and when they went on Shore we gave them a selute of Seven guns. This Day Mr. Winter Calf came on Board to see us. He Left Boston a Munday. Reports of a Number of Ships Cruseing between hear and Boston think it Not Safe to go from hear at preasent.

Saturday *Aug't* 2, 1777. This day Light winds to the Southward very warme. Our People on Shore a Brewing. Towards the Eaving we had thunder with Raine.

Sunday *Aug't* 3 1777. This day Pleasent very warme. Capt. palms went on Shore and Mr. Welch Likewise to hear the prest.

Mounday *Aug't* 4 1777. This day Pleasant weather wind to the North East. No thoughts of Saileing. I know not when we shall. This Day arived two prise Briggs and one Brigg belonging to hear from St. Crux and a Ship from Bilbo with Anchor and Cables for the two 74 Gun Ships. Our Barg was sent to help hir in witch they did at a bout 12 oclock at Night all hand Emploid Gitting of[f] a Ship that had Rune on Shore the Day before.

Tuesday, *Aug't* 5, 1777. This day thick foggey weather. We have got our Ships Sides Scraped. The wind being to the Eastward Sevral vessails Came in hear. Nothing very Remarkable.

Wednesday, *Aug't* 6, 1777. This day Pleasent wather most part of the Day. The Latter part foggey and some Showers of Raine the wind small and variable.

Thusday, *Aug't* 7, 1777. This Day very warme wind to the Southward. We have Paid our Ships Sides with tare.

Fryday, *Aug't* 8, 1777. This day pleasent weather the wind to the Southward. We have no thoughts of going at preasent. This Day a Rived Prise Brigg Loaded with Salt tacking by a Schooner from Beaverly.

Saturday, *Aug't* 9, 1777. This Day very warm wind to the South ward. We are Laying hear with a Number of vessails waighting for a wind. We have a plenty of wood and water and Bear on Bord. Nothing Remarkble.

Sunday, *Aug't* 10. This morning a fine Breze of wind at NNW. Several Coasters and Marchants Vessails went out Bound for the westward. At a Bout 7 oclock in the Morning the Capt. came upon the Deack and Orderd us to unmore as fast as we could. He went on Shore him Self. We got unmord, cleared, and Bout 12 oclock we Brock Ground and Came out with a fine Breze and as we Came out of the Sand we see a Brigg witch we took to be a vessaile of force Standing to the westward in full Chase after us and Came up with us fast and got the wind of us. We put a bout to Speake with hir but found we Could Not. We gave hir Several Shot but Could Not Bring hir two. She got in Shore of us and we Stood along againe to the westward with a very Small wind witch came to the Southward and then we whase oblige to Tack Backwards and forwards.

Mounday, *Aug't* 11. This 24 hours small winds to the Southward. At day Light made the Isle of Sholes a Brigg and a Ship after us. At 12 oclock we got into Pourtsmouth came to anchor in company with Capt. Tompson and Capt. Heyman.[1] Nothing Remar[kable].

Tusday, *Aug't* 12. This Day pleasent weather. Capt. McNeill and Capt Tompson went to town. Two off Officers Belonging to the *Alford* [*Alfred*] dined on Bord.

Wednesday, *Aug't* 13, 1777. This Day pleasent weather Light winds. Our Capt. came from town. He is Determined to go to Boston the first wind.

Thusday, *Aug't* 14, 1777. This Day very warme weather small winds. Nothing very Remarkable. I hope to have a wind soon that will carrey us to our desired port.

[1] Thomas Thompson and Elisha Hinman, commanding the Continental frigate *Raleigh* and the ship *Alfred*.

Fryday, *Aug't* 15, 1777. This Day attended with Variable winds and Rainey weather the first part pleasent. Nothing Remarkable.

Saturday, *Aug't* 16. This day Pleasent weather the first part the wind was to the Northward Latter part to the Southward. At 4 oclock in the Morning we unmored our Ship, the Capt. Come on Bord, we got under way as fast as posable we Could, but the flood tide makeing so strong against us that we Could not git out But was obliged to Come to anchor againe. When we shall git out I know not for I think we are unlockey.

Sunday, *Aug't* 17, 1777. This Day pleasent the wind to the Eastward at Sun Rise we hove up and tryed to git out but the flood tide macking and the wind so Light we was Obliged to Come to Anchor again.

Mounday, *Aug't* 18. At 5 oclock this Morning the wind being to the NNE we hove up and Came out with a fine Brease of wind which Brought us up with Cape Ann and then it fell to a small Brease. We Sail'd a Long and at 8oclock in the Eaving we Came to anchor in Merblehead.

Tusday, *Aug't* 19. This Day attende with Light winds to the Southward So that we Cant Git out. Our pinnis is gone to Salem with our people that is Sick and Sevral others is gone to Sea their frinds. We shifted our Birth and went further up the harbour.

Wednesday, *Aug't* 20. This day Light winds to the Southward. We are gitting our Vessaile in trim for Sailing and fixing quarter Neting. I am in hopes we shall soon git out of this Place and git to Boston.

Thusday, *Aug't* 21. At 4 oclock this morning hove up at Marble Head. Came out with the wind at South. We got in as far as Niches Mate at 2 oclock in the After Noon it Being high warter we Came to Anchor parted our Small Bower Cable Let go the Best Bower Brought up at 9 oclock hove up Turnd up as far as Specti[c]al [Island] and then Came to anchor againe thanks Be to God we are Safe a Rived to the port ware we Belong.

This a true Copey of Benjamin Crowninshie[ld's] Journal on Board the *Boston* Frigate, Hector McNeill Esq'r Commander.

To Committee of Pownallborough [1]

To the Gentlemen of the Committe of Safety for the Town of Pownalborough [Wiscasset].

Gentlemen

As friends to your Country, and Men intrusted with the publick affairs of this place in particular, I request the favour of your Company on Board the *Boston* Frigate this forenoon, I having something to propose to you concerning the publick Service. I am Gentlemen Your most Obedient Servant

H. McN.

Ship *Boston* 12th July 1777.

To the Marine Committee [1]

To the Hon'ble The Marine Committe of Congress at Philadelphia.

Gentlemen

I think it my duty to give you as particular an account of my late Cruise as the hasty departure of the present opportunity will admit of.

On the 21st of May I sail'd from Nantasket in Company with Capt: Manley and eight or Ten small Privateers, some of whom parted with us by choice, and the remainder by bad weather in Six days after we Sail'd; Captain Manley and myself were so lucky as to keep Company except Two Nights in the worst of the Gale of Wind which happened to be easterly.

On Thursday afternoon the 29th of May we fell in with a small Brigg from London for New York which we took, and Man'd that Evening, they acquainted us that they came out under Convoy of the *Somersett* [2] and *Mercury* [3] with 16 Sail of Transports having on board about 3500 Troops, for Reinforcing the British Army at New York.

At break of day the 30th we discover'd the *Somersett* and three large Ships under her Convoy. Capt: Manley was not convinced of the size of our Opponent untill she was within Shott of him, when very Luckily for him the *Hancocks* Heels saved his Bacon. She nevertheless pursued him with great earnestness untill I tack'd upon her Convoy who was a good way a stern of her at that time. as soon as she saw me within random Shot of them, she left Capt: Manley and return'd to their protection. She then chac'd me about

[1] Letter Book. [2] British 64-gun ship. [3] British frigate.

six hours but not being able to come up with me she rejoin'd her Convoy just as night came on.

Capt: Manley and myself then Steer'd to the Eastward and Northward in hopes of falling in with some others of the fleet, but saw no Enemy except a few miserable Fishermen untill Saturday June the Seventh, on the Morning of which day we fell in with the *Fox* a British Frigate of 28 Guns Commanded by Capt: Patrick Fotheringham. She at first meant to Engage but thought 'twas best to try her Heels, which would have effectually saved her from me, but the *Hancock* coming up with her an Action ensued which did not end untill after we came up by which time the *Hancock* and the *Fox* were both very much damaged. The weather proving unfavourable for some time afterwards we were several days fitting the *Fox* and Capt. Manley his own Ship. I had sent my first Lieut't (Mr. Browne) on board the *Fox* the day she was taken but Captain Manley refused giving him the Command, and I was finally oblig'd to withdraw him for the sake of peace. I urged Capt: Manley to make the best of our way to Charlestown, South Carolina, there to join Capt: Biddle, fitt and Clean our Ships and then to Cruise for the West India Fleet untill towards the fall of the year by which time our own Coast would probably be clear and we might return without any risque compared with what must be now expected. He at first attended to my proposal but afterwards did as he pleas'd. The event will prove whither I judged right or not. In short we loiter'd away three weeks or a month before we sett our faces homeward by which time the Coast of New England from Cape Sable as far as New York was so cover'd with cruisers that there was no escaping them.

On Sunday the 6th of July being 15 leagues to the Eastward of Cape Sable we took a Sloop from Louisburgh bound for Halifax, but delaying some time with her we were chac'd towards evening by three Ships (we also being three). We did not make any efforts to avoid those Ships in Course of the night, on the Contrary Capt: Manley Tow'd the Sloop before spoken of untill next Morning, by which time one of the Ships [1] was a head of us and tack'd upon us. The Second Ship [2] which was a two decker was on our Lee Quarter about three Leagues from us, and the third Ship [3] about as far right a stern. Capt: Manley then thought proper to sett fire to the Sloop and quitted her and endeavour'd to make the best of our way, but the first Ship being up within Shott about noon we exchanged some Shott with her at a distance and then having spoke Capt: Manley we agreed to Tack and Engage her.

[1] British frigate *Flora*. [2] British 44-gun ship *Rainbow*.
[3] British brig *Victor*.

We immediately Tack'd and Capt: Manley begun the Action with his head to the Northward and the Enemy on the opposite Tack, we being close under the *Hancocks* Stern also fell in with the Enemy in our turn and exchanged about five broad Sides with her.

Her Shott was so well aim'd that some of them pass'd through our Ship under the wale so that we could not Tack upon the Enemy untill we had stop'd those Holes. This was however done in a few minutes, but not before the two deck Ship had goten very near us. Unfortunately the *Fox* did not Tack at the same time we did, by which means the Enemy got between her and us, and she was oblig'd to pass under the fire of the first Ship above mention'd and the Fire of the two deck Ship also. Capt: Manley seeing that the *Fox* was beyond saving put about and stood to the Southward. The *Fox* bore away and run to the Eastward and we kept the Wind to the Northw'd. The two deck Ship then put about and follow'd the *Hancock*, leaving the *Fox* and me to the other two Ships. The *Fox* fled and defended herself bravely having also some advantage in point of Sailing. We were constrain'd to keep the Wind for our own Security being neither able to Run from nor fight such force as then appear'd to Leward. In a few hours we saw two more of the Enemy about two points on our weather bow — from these we were obliged to Tack to the Southward, the wind about WBS. After standing two hours to the Southw'd we espied another Ship bearing SW of us who appear'd to be in Chace towards us. I then hove about to the Northw'd again and stood on untill Nine oClock the Evening, the Chace coming down upon us very fast all the time, as soon as the Moon was down I tack'd and stood to the Southw'd and in less than an hour saw the Lights of the Chacing Ship standing athwart our Stern about ¾ of a Mile from us. On Tuesday Morning the 8th Current I saw five Sail of the Enemy to the Leward of me three on the Lee bow and two on the Lee Quarter, at the same time saw Cape Sable bearing NNE five leagues. The wind coming to the Southward I stood across the Bay of Funday detirmin'd to Shelter my self in the first port I could make, and get intelligence, which happen'd to be this river where I arriv'd on Thursday the 10th Instant. On my arrival here I found that the *Milford* Frigate [1] had been in about fourteen days past and that she had penetrated up as far as we now are, Namely at Wichcassett point. There is scarce a day but one or two of the Enemys ships are seen off the Mouth of this river and the Coasting Vessells are very much distress'd. In this my present Situation I am much at a loss what to do — my Ships Company are so de-

[1] British.

minished by Manning the *Fox* and the Men otherwise lost since we Saild from Boston, my Ship is very Fowl (not having been clean'd since Novem'r last) and besides that we cannot make her Sail fast, trim which way we will, the certainty of Meeting the Enemy in pairs along the Coast and only two ports capable of yielding us Shelter between this place and Boston Bay — all those Circumstances Considered, I think it prudent to stay for a few days to get some more Authentick information of the Numbers and strength of the Enemy in this Quarter, for according to the present accounts I think it is impossible for Single Ships to pass or repass, without being Sacrifised to their numerous fleet. We have certain accounts of twelve Sail of the Enemys Cruisers between Cape Ann and Cape Sable, sevrall of whom are large Ships. Our best accounts report two between this river and Casco Bay which is but 10 Leagues apart so that they are posted along shore at convenient distances to succour each other; I send you a return of the prisoners which I have brought here belonging to the *Fox* but for fear of Accidents have deliver'd them into the hands of the Committee of Safety to be forwarded towards Boston. Thither I shall repair as soon as possible from which place I promise my self the pleasure of Writing you more fully. I am Gentlemen with all possible respect, Your most humble Servant.

Ship *Boston* at Wichcassett
in Sheepgut River 16th July 1777.

To the Council of Massachusetts[1]

To the Honourable the Council of the Massachusetts State.

Gentlemen

On my Arival at this place I did apply to the Committe for a guard to conduct Sixteen prisoners (Late of the *Fox* Frigate) to Boston. They set out from hence last Thursday, but I am persuaded this will be with you before them.

As I have three Lieutenants and fifty-three Men on board the *Fox,* who I fear is taken to Halifax, I beg as a particular favour that the Officers of the *Fox* may not be disposed of otherwise then to redeem mine. I think we have the first right and shall expect that they be kept safe untill my Arrival. Notwithstanding the expence of sending them so far by Land, I am perswaded my rea-

[1] Letter Book.

sons for setting them on shore will be Satisfactory. Your Most Obed't Serv't

Ship *Boston* at Wichcassett
July 21st 1777.

Mr. John Perry, 1st Lieutenant.
Mr. Will'm Budworth, 2d do.
Mr. Peter Burn, Master.

Mr. James Malcolm
Mr. John Fitzgerald
Mr. George Paris Monk
} Midshipmen.

Mr. James Harrison, Captain's Clerke.

William Jennings
William Cheeseman
James Lamb
William Sackveill
Barth'w George
William Tubbs
James Royall
Thomas Paine
Joseph Lyons
} Seamen.

The above is a List of the Prisoners dispatch'd from Wichcassett, July 17th, 1777.

To Thomas Thompson [1]

Capt: Thompson,

I have this moment receiv'd your welcome Letter of the 19th Inst: On my arrival here I would have wrote you a Narative of our proceedings this last Cruise, but for want of an opportunity which could be trusted I refrain'd writing.

On Friday last I had some thoughts of stoping one who call'd himself Harris, he was in a Whale Boat which he said he had hired of a Butcher at Portsmo: by this Harris I wrote a Letter to you, thereby intending to deceive him in case he had been what I suspected, a Spy. Should you receive that Letter burn it, for I had no other Motive in writing it then those already mention'd.

To return now to Business I will tell you that I have spent a most painfull two Months on this Cruise. The General opinion which had prevail'd, that I was dissatisfied with being under Manley's Command, made me sett up a resolution to obey implicitly every one of his Commands, (as for Signals, I never could get any from him) to the utmost of my power. I did however endeavour to advise him now and then when in a good mood, and he often appear'd to attend to what I said; but the unstableness of his Temper led him rather to do as he pleas'd. Nevertheless I follow'd him as the Jackall does the Lyon, without Grumbling except in my Gizard.

[1] Letter Book. Captain Thompson's ship, the *Raleigh,* was fitting out at Portsmouth.

On Thursday 29th May we took a small Brigg from London Bound for New York. by this Brigg we found she was part of a Convoy which came out with the *Somersett* and *Mercury*. The next day, at day dawn we made four large Ships, the leading Ship I was well assured was the *Somersett*. I made the Signal to Speak with Manley that I might perswade him not to run directly into their Tract a head of them, they being to windward, in which possition 'twould be very hard to discover their Force before they were very near us. No notice however was taken of my Signal. I then made Sail to overtake him which I did and told him that I was perswaded the headmost Ship was the *Somersett*. Our Prize was still in Company and sail'd dull, so that we fear'd we should loose her. Capt. Manley then told me to Stand to the Southward, the Wind being at ENE, the Prize and myself stood to the Southward and Manley Lay with his Courses up and small Sails handed untill the *Somersett* came within the reach of Grape Shott. Being then convinced of his Mistake he made all the Sail he could, but so Slowly did he get out of her way, That her Shott flew over him for an hour, by which Time I Tack'd to the Northw'd upon the Three Ships a Stern of her, and when I came within long Shott of them, the *Somersett* left chasing Manley and return'd to her Convoy; having Spoke with them, she wore and Chac'd me Six or Seven hours. At first she seem'd to Gain, but having alter'd the Trim of our Ship we then gain'd on her. A little before Night she return'd to her Convoy.

Manley had run so far to the Southw'd that we were not able to see him till Sunsett and did not fall in with him untill the next day. We then stood to the Northw'd and Eastward in hopes to fall in with some of the Scatter'd Ships of the aforesaid convoy, but the weather was so bad for ten or twelve days that we see nothing untill we got on the Bank. On Friday June the 6th we took a Brigg belonging to Dartmouth; her Capt: Manley order'd to be burnt for Country Sake. The next morning we fell in with the *Fox* about 7 Oclock forenoon. Captain Manley being a head exchanged two broadsides. She then made Sail and endeavour'd to gett off. She sail'd so fast that twas half after noon before Manley got along side of her, when a Spitefull Short Action Ensued for 45 Minutes before we came up. We did not fire untill within Pistol Shott and they struck the first broadside, but by some Mistake of their Marines or Topmen, they again Fired into our Ship after I had spoke to one of the Officers and desired him to throw a burning wadd overbboard which had Lodged in the Miz'n Chains, there was no withholding our People and they return'd a few Shott

before I could stop them. As the *Hancock* and *Fox* had Engag'd with all their small kites out, they were both in the most helpless condition at the end of the Action. The *Fox* had pegg'd Mr. Manley's ribbs so well that he had his pumps going, and both Ships were by the Lee, — with every Sail abroad.

I sent my first and 2 Lieutenant on board the Fox, order'd the first to Stay and the 2d to take the Captain of the *Fox* on board Capt: Manley as a Compliment to my Senior Officer. This was immediately done and the rest of the Officers with about 96 of the Men were brought on board me, a dozen of Fishermen came down to see the Sport as I had hoisted British Colours immediately after the Action ceas'd. Towards evening Capt: Manley came along side and order'd me to put all the common Men on board one of those fishing Vessells and Let them go about their Business. I endeavour'd to perswade him to come on board that I might tell him my thoughts on that Step. He said he could not enter on Acco't of Lameness but order'd me once more to sett about embarking them before Night. I accordingly put 85 of the *Fox's* Men on board one of the Fishing Vessells by Sunsett, the Sea and Wind rising after Night prevented puting any more on board and it coming bad weather before Morning they left us and made the best of their way for St. Johns. I immediately foresee the Consequence and the next day wrote to Capt: Manley praying him to make the best of our way to the Southw'd and proceed with all possible dispatch for South Carolina, — there 'twas probable we might not be watch'd by a Superior Force, but so sure as we offer'd to return home we were sure to be way laid by Ships from York and Rhode Island, who would be sent out as soon as the *Somersett* arrived, and were sure to be pursued by the Newfoundland and Halifax Ships. Capt: Manley at first acquiess'd, but in a few days alter'd his Mind and his Course, upon the whole we spent three weeks before we Sett our faces to the Westward, in all which time we saw Nothing but Spaniards and French Men, who run us to the Eastward a great way from the place we had first met with the *Fox*.

We at last sett out for home, and keeping well to the Northward we made the High Land of Portmuttoon [Port Matoun]. On Sunday Morning the 6th Instant about 8 o Clock A.M. Capt: Manley brought too an old Sloop, Coal Loaded from Cape Britain. We Lost severall hours dallying with the Sloop untill the Morning breeze which was at N was Spent. He then took her in Tow and stood to the Southw'd and Westward. About 4 o'Clock that afternoon we Saw three Sail astern of us who appear'd to be in chace of

us. Far from taking notice of the Signal made by the *Fox* who was then astern, Capt: Manley Tow'd the Sloop all Night and we to keep astern had our Miz'n Topsail to the Mast half the Night. When day come on we see the headmost Ship [1] forward of our Lee Catthead, the Second Ship [2] (a two decker) on our Lee Quarter and the third Ship [3] right a stern.

The headmost Ship, Tack'd upon us and pass'd under our Lee within Gun Shott, at 8 o Clock, as soon as she had our weak, She Tack'd after us, we being the Sternmost Ship Exchanged some Shott with her; about noon I got within hail of Capt: Manley, and he proposed Tack'g to Engage this Ship before the others came up. We did so immediately and both Exchanged a few broad Sides with her as she pass'd. The *Fox* did not Tack with us which Exposed her to this Ships Fire. She then attempted to Tack but Missing Stays was Obliged to wear which brought her under the Lee of the first Ship and just to Windward of the two decker. We then had all our heads to the Northw'd, the Wind at WBS. Manley being the Weathermost Ship he Tack'd and stood to the Southward. The Large Ship Tack'd after him. The *Fox* bore away and Run to the Eastward and I kept the Wind to the Northw'd. At 4 P M we discover'd two Square lofty Vessells to the Northw'd of us standing our way. We then put about and stood to the Southward for one or two hours, when we made another right to Windward coming down with all the Sail she could make. From this one we also Tack'd and stood on to the Northw'd untill the Moon was down. We then hove about to the Southw'd and in less than an hour saw her lights crossing our Weak right astern about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile. Next Morning we had five Sail and the Land of Cape Sable in Sight; the Wind coming to the Southw'd we hauled across the Bay of Funday and thick weather coming on that Night and next day, we see no more of them Except one at 2 A M Wednesday Morning. We were within hail of her before we discover'd her, but She being on one Tack and we on the other we Saw her Top light time enough to avoid her. We heard a Signal Gun of hers about two hours before.

Now to come to our own Affairs, the State of my Ship is nearly as follows, Sixty Men short of what I brought out, the Scurvy taking every day, my Vessells Bottom very fowl.

I intend to take the first good opportunity of running along shore as far as Casco Bay, or if the weather be favourable, as far as Portsmouth where I will certainly put in if I can. We have seen none of the Enemys Ships from the Mouth of this river this five

[1] *Flora.* [2] *Rainbow.* [3] *Victor.*

days but as long as the wind Continues Southerly I cannot pretend to get out. If Capt: Hinman[1] and you are able to join Company at Portsmouth and there be a Continuation of South'y Winds, should you stretch down as far as Casco, you may find me there. Should I be chaced by a Superior Force any where near Portsmouth I will come as near you as I can, in which case should the Wind be fowl for me to fetch in, perhaps you may be able to come out to my Assistance.

As to your Cruising Singly, or even with two of our Ships, there is a great risque — the Enemys Cruisers are so numerous, and most of them Stout Ships so that light Ships stand little or no chance. May God bless and prosper you is the Prayer of your Friend and Obedient Servant,

H. McM.

P.S. I shall attend to the Continental Signals sent to Capt: Hinman from Philadelphia in case of our Meeting.

Wichcassett 21st July 1777.

My Compliments to Mrs. Thompson.

To His Wife[2]

Dear Mary:— I wrote you soon as I arived here, but know not whither you have received it. I sent by way of Salem. This will acquaint you with my health. I intend to see you as soon as possible.

I have sent 16 prisoners by Land to Boston, seven of whom were officers of The Frigate *Fox*.

I have wrote the Council that those Gentlemen may be detained until my Arivall That with them I may redeem my Own officers, who I fear are taken and carried to Halifax. You must tell My Friend William, That he must make a point of obtaining one of them to redeem his Son Robert who with Mr. Gross, Mr. Harris, Mr. Knowles and Mr. Millen together with 53 men I put on board that Ship to help man her. My Love and Blessing remain with you and the Children. Your Husband,

Hector McNeill.

The Doctor sends his Compliments.

Ship *Boston* 21st July at Wichassett.

Addressed: Capt. Hector McNeill, Milk Street, Boston. fav-[ore]d by Mr. Ward. Falmouth, July 23.

[1] Commanding the Continental ship *Alfred*.

[2] From the Gray Papers.

To the Committee of Falmouth [1]

Ship *Boston* 25th July 1777.

Gentlemen: I am inform'd that two of the Prisoners late belonging to the *Fox* which I forwarded here by Land from Wichcassett last week have been Negligently left behind in this place.

I cannot help Expressing my astonishment on this Occasion at the conduct of those Gentlemen who had the care of the Prisoners.

Were our poor Countrymen who unfortunately fall into the hands of the Enemy no better guarded or let run at loose in this manner we might entertain some hopes of their being able to find their way once more to their own home, but alas the contrary is too well known. Many of them have been constrain'd to take arms against their Country, all who refuse so to do have been close confin'd and treated with such cruelty as would Shock the heart of a Barbarian untill they can be redeem'd by Exchange, suffer they must. Is it not then great cruelty in us to Neglect redeeming our own people knowing full well what hard measure they have while in the hands of the foe, what mistaken pitty that is which only extends to our Enemys when they fall into our hands, and neglects our own people who meet such cruel Treatment among them. This is but poor encouragement for Men to enter into the Service of their Country, who tho they may take and convey home Prisoners enough to redeem themselves in case of their being taken, yet have only this Melancholy reflection for their Comfort, Namely That their indolent, faithless Countrymen, suffer such to Slip through their fingers, while they poor Souls are sure to perish in a Prison unless they be redeem'd.

I therefore call on you Gentlemen as the Active guardians of your Country and your brethren in Captivity, requesting that you would cause those Prisoners to be apprehended and deliver'd again into my Care, or sent under a proper Guard to Boston. I am Gentlemen Your most Obed't Servant

H. McN.

To the Gentlemen of the Committe of Safety for the Town of Falmouth.

[1] Letter Book.

To the Marine Committee [1]

Falmouth Casco Bay 4th Aug't 1777

Gentlemen,

Above you have copy of my last Letter dated at Wichcasset 16th ulto., since which I arrived with the *Boston* at this place, but when I shall reach Boston, or even Portsmouth, is uncertain.

The Enemy keep such a look out and are so Numerous that 'tis no easy matter to Slip throw among them.

Three Nights agone we had four Sail of their Frigates off this Harbours mouth in full sight, and by the letter now in my hand from the committee of Safety at Newb'y Port, it appears that four Ships and a Brigg are Stationed in Ipswich Bay, besides those Stationed in Boston Bay.

Thick weather for a day or two has hid them from us, but in clear weather they are allway near in with the Land.

They seem now to be posted in three divisions, within the distance of forty leagues Coastwise, one division off Cape Elizabeth and a Little to the east'd of it, the Second off Portsmouth tending South'ly towards Cape Ann, the Third division between Cape Ann and Cape Cod.

Notwithstanding all this I hope by the Blessing of God upon our care and good conduct to Save the *Boston* for a More fortunate cruise then has been our last.

There are so many different reports circulated concerning Capt. Manley, That I know not what to write at this time. I am still in hopes, that he has Escaped the Enemy and gone to South Carolina. Happy had it been for himself and all concerned, if he had taken so much of my advice the day after we took the *Fox,* but alas his Obstanicey and want of refflection at that period, will for ever furnish him with matter for repentance.

When I endeavourd to persuade him to go to South Carolina, my reasonings were grounded on the following circumstances —

In the first place, the Enemy were well Acquainted with the time of our Sailing from Boston and with the length of our intended Cruise (the latter might be known by the quantity of provisions taken in) which was only for Six or Eight weeks.

2dly. Our falling in with the *Sumersett* in the Tract for New York on the ninth day after we sail'd This Ship's arivall at that place would be the means of heastning out crusiers after us, either from York or Rhode Island.

3dly. The Exceeding bad pollicy he had been guilty of in turn-

[1] Letter Book.

ing away upw'ds of one hundred men lately belonging to the *Fox* within Six hours after She was taken. Those men were put on board some fishing Vessells, and made the best of their way for St. Johns Harbour which was then within 24 hours Sail'g of us. At the Harbour of St. Johns Lay Admiral Montague with the *Romney* and some other Ships of war, and to me it appeared probable that he would use his Endeavours to recover the *Fox,* by sending out as many Ships in quest of us as he could muster. Those Ships of his might be joined by Others from Halifax, so that with the help of the Ships already spoken of from N. York and Rhode Island, a chain of cruisers might be form'd between Cape Sable, and Nantucket Shoals, which 'twould be difficult to pass.

After considering all these things I was totally Against returning home by the way we went out. Therefore I earnestly requested that we might immediately make the best of our way for South Carolina, there refitt and clean our Ships, and if Capt. Biddle could be ready to come out with us so much the better. With four Ships like ours, we might do much Service to our Country and ourselves.

Capt. Manley Expressed much willingness to follow this plan at first, when I made him Acquainted with it by my Letter of the ninth of June last, but in a day or two he changed his mind, and his course, and notwithstanding all the remonstrances I could make he continued cruising three weeks or upwards to no purpose, Except that of going farther from home — thereby giveing the Enemy more time to take the proper steps for intercepting us, on our return.

Part of the Consequences (namely the Loss of the *Fox*) you are but too well acquainted with by this time. What Capt. Manleys fate or mine will be, is not altogether yet decided. May God strengthen the Hands of the Congress and save our Country by his Mighty Power, joined with their honest Endeavours, for Sure I am that they have but indifferent prospects from the abillity of many of us Employ'd under them.

I am Gentlemen with Sincereley your Most Obed't Servant

HECTOR McNEILL.

To the Hon'ble the Marine Committee
of Congress at Philadelphia.

To John Langdon [1]

Falmouth 5th Aug't 1777

Sir,

I did my self the pleasure of writing you soon after I arived at Sheepscott river, praying the favour of you to forward my Letter to the Marine committee which I had left open for your particular Satisfaction. At that time I was in hopes of Seeing you long before this but the precarious State of a Single Ship in these times, and the want of a good Oppertunity has keept me at so great a distance. We have some Vessells in here now who have been drove in by three or four Large Ships who seem to be Station'd about the mouth of this Bay; three evenings agone we see them from the forts. When I shall be able to Slip by them I know not. Now My good Sir as my provisions are Nearly out and there appears no prospect of a Supply in or near this place, This is to request the favour of you to Save us from perishing for want of Provisions or being obliged to run a certain risque of Loosing the Ship rather then to Starve here. The Chance of getting any thing of provision kind from Boston at present must be much more uncertain then from Portsmouth. I pray you therefore that you would Send me down, three weeks Bread and flesh, which with the Little I have left will I hope be Sufficient to bring us to Portsmouth. Let it be sent in some small Vessell with some Faithful person and a good pilot so that she may run into aney hole for Safety.

I am Sir with great respect your Most Obed't Serv't

Hector McNeill.

To John Langdon, Esq'r
Continental Agent at Portsmouth.

To John Browne [1]

Sir

Inclosed you have an open Arrest for Capt: Richard Palmes,[2] you will please to take a Copy of it and keep it by you untill a future day, the Original which I have Sign'd, you will be pleas'd to put into his hands as soon as possible.

Yours Hector McNeill
Commander of the *Boston* Ship of War.

Sunday 6 o Clock afternoon
10th day of August at Sea.

To Lieut. Jno. Browne of the said Ship.

[1] Letter Book. [2] Captain of marines.

To Richard Palmes [1]

Sir

Your unofficer like behaviour and repeated breach of my Orders, obliges me to confine you to your birth untill it may be in my power to bring you to a Court Martial, where I hope you will have justice done. At your Perril break your Arrest, in which case I shall treat you as you deserve. Yours

Hector McNeill.

Ship *Boston* at Sea this 10th day of August 1777, 6 o Clock afternoon.

Sir [1]

You may thank your own folly and impertinence for what has now befallen you. I dispise your insinuations of Cruelty, as indeed I do Every thing Else you can say of me consistent with truth. You may go to the house of Office as offten as Nature calls, provided you return immediately to your berth and keep your Tounge Still as you pass and repass. This you will attend to at your Perril.

Hector McNeill.

Monday 11 o Clock Aug't 11th 1777.

To Capt. Palmes.

Dr. Mr. John Billard in a/c with Hector McNeill Esq'r.[1] *Cr.*

May 20	To 1 Bed	1. 4. 0	By his Wages from	
June 9	To 3 Shirts 24/	3.12. –	14th May 1777 to	
	To 2 pair Worst'd Hose 12/	1. 4. –	14th August 1777 is 3 Months @ 12 Dollars	
22d	To Cash	11. 3	per Month ..£10.16.–	
Aug'st 14	To Ball'ce due J Billard	4. 4. 9		
		£10.16. –		
14	To Cash p'd more than the above Ballance	5. 3	Ship *Boston* August 14th 1777. Errors Excepted.	
		£11. 1. 3		

[1] Letter Book.

To the Marine Committee [1]

Boston Aug't 25th 1777

To the Hon'ble Marine Committee at Philadelphia.

Gentlemen

My last of the 4th instant from Falmouth as also copy of my former Letter from Sheepscott river dated the 16th ulto. I hope you have received before now.

This comes to Acquaint you with my Arival at Boston on Saturday last, haveing Stop'd a few days at Portsmouth on my way from Falmouth. it will also inform you of the State the Ship is in at present, and my thoughts of what is Necessary to be done to Equip her for the Sea.

As it is my duty to Acquaint you with the property, and Trim of the Ship I command so I hope you will have patience with me untill I tell you all that I have been Able to Observe concerning either.

In the first place I think something ought to be done in the Standing of her masts, to try if it may not have a good Effect on her Sailing; her bottom is allow'd to be as fine as any thing of the kind will admitt of. We have alter'd her Trim frequently and find great difference in her going, but yet we never have been able to make her go as fast as some other Ships we have fallen in with. One great hope I have that she is cappable of Sailing fast is That She is the most Ticklish Ship to keep in trim that ever I was acquainted with, for I have repeatedly found that the unequal Expence of one days Provisions and water would put her out of Trim. From this circumstance I am Persuaded that She will One day Sail fast if her Trim can be discover'd. One great disadvantage we have had in Triming her, is that we had little or none pigg Ballast wherewith to make the Experiment, consequently when we have been Obliged to alter, the men and Guns was our only resource, both of which bring great inconveniencys, the one being as defecult to keep Still in the place you want them, as the other is to transport fore and aft.

2dly. Such a quantity of Gravel Ballast as we are Obliged to cary to Stiffen the Ship, takes up a great deal of our room (of which there is but too Little at best) then being mixd in with the water Casks fore and aft, it composes such a dead Mass that a Ship thus ballast[ed] feels her self no more then an Island, and as it Layes so much higher then Pigg Ballast the weight deepens a Ship more then it Stiffens her for carying Sail, con-

[1] Letter Book.

sequently when her body is in the water like a Loaded Vessell, 'tis not possible for her to Sail so fast. This I have frequently found by our Ship, her being commonly so deep That when ever we have press'd her with Sail She has gone less Swift then before.

To go best close haul'd she ought to be on an even keel That is 14 feet 3 inches forw'r and aft. To go Large, or afore the wind, She must be 10 or 12 inches deeper aft then forward, and there is not a good property a Ship can have (Except room within, and Speed of foot) but this Ship may boast of. When brought to her courses upon a wind She proved a much more weatherly Ship then the *Hancock,* but in fine weather the *Hancock* bore the bill.

She has been now Nine Months off the Ground, Six of which pass'd before we saild from Nantasket. How can it be Expected that the finest bottoms will sail foul equal to clean Ships. For the future then let me intreate you Gentlemen to Order Matters so that your Ships may have an equall chance with those they are Obliged to face. Dont suffer them to go out foul nor Cruize long in any particular Station Especially in this our State of infancy when we neither know what our Ships can do nor have expert men to mannage them.

When the Marine Board meets here, I shall consult them concerning many things Necessary with which I would not take up your time at present. Shall now proceed to mention some things which respect my self more particularly.

In my former Letters I gave you the Outlines of our Late Cruize, without entering into a circumstantial Account, or giveing my Opinion of men and things, with that freedom I now propose to indulge my self in this.

I take the Liberty to assure you, That when I entered into the Continental Service I had not one Single thought whither I should be placed the third or the Thirteenth upon the List, my ambition was fully satisfied when I was favoured with a Commission placeing me where I now am, and Altho I did then forsee that one day or other I might possibly fall under the Command of one man, whose Ability I had reason to doubt, yet I was determined that happen whensoever it might I would Obey and follow his instructions with all that Zeal which becomes a faithful Servant to the Publick, who will never neglect or loose Sight of his duty for any private veiw whatever.

With these Sentiments I enter'd into the Service and have constantly made them my practice ever since. My conduct on our late cruize under the Command of Capt. Manley will Abundantly

prove the truth of what I here advance, for never did a Pilotfish follow a Sharke, or a Jackall follow a Lion, with more Assiduity and Complisance then I follow'd him at Sea for Six or Seven weeks (chiefly in bad weather Latitudes), and that without any regular System of Signals, or instructions for my direction dureing which time he led me into severall Scrapes by his misconduct, and at last left me in one to shift for my self.

I hold it criminal to asperse the character of any man, much more the Absent, and in some cases Scarcely Justifiable to Speak all the Truth, for which reasons were I not under a Necessity I should now say very little of Capt. Manley, but inasmuch as I find my self involved in a chain of difficultys by his blunders and misconduct, I must in justice to my self say, That he is totally unequal to the Command with which he has been intrusted, he being ignorant, Obstinate, Overbearing and Tyranical beyound discription, a man under whose command none can live with pleasure but such creatures as himself, and those also must be of his own makeing. Such is that Fellow of yesterday, Mr. Stephen Hill, whom he promoted over all Other Officers' heads to Command the *Fox,* who by his ignorance and Misconduct lost her at last, for had he Tack'd when Capt. Manley and my self Tack'd on the Enemy he might have weather'd them whilst we were engaged with the *Flora,* or had he keept the wind with me even after Manley left us, and Tack'd to the South'd from us, he might have Escaped, but to bear away, and run to Leward with all the Sail he could crou'd when a Third Ship of the Enemy was then in Sight to Lewward discovered the most Stupid ignorance in Nature.

All these things will Abundantly appear when ever a court martial happens, which God Grant may be soon.

I have been curst with another composition of the Fool and Knave, I mean a certain Mr. Palmes who had a Commission as Capt. of Marines on board the *Boston,* which Commission he has distroy'd by casting it into the fire. His disobedience to orders and frothy foolish conduct Obliged me to lay him under an arrest, but as there is no means here of bringing him to a Court martial I shall leave it to you how to deal with him. In the mean time I shall take Notice of him another way.

I am Gentlemen with great respect your most Obed't Servant,

HECTOR MCNEILL.

To the Honourable the Marine Committee
of the Hon'ble the Continental Congress,
at Philadelphia.

To the Navy Board, Eastern District [1]

Gentlemen

Your favour of the 2nd I receiv'd yesterday evening to which I shall pay Strict attention.

Herewith I lay before you Copys of my different Letters since my return from a Cruise to The Hon'ble The Marine Committe at Philadelphia in the 3rd and last of which you will find the State and properties of the Ship *Boston* under my command, a Return of her Officers and Men I will furnish you with very Soon.

An Indent also for such things as are absolutely Necessary, shall be laid before you as soon as I can examine the remaining Stores.

Her Dimentions and Burthen I never have been able to come at my self from either Agents, Builders, or Mastmakers, nevertheless I will make it my Business to Measure the Ship whenever an opportunity offers.

The Ship *Boston* mounts

Cannon	Swivels
5 of 12 Pounders	16
19 of 9 do.	
2 of 6 do.	
4 of 4 do.	

There are a great number whose times with the Ship are Expired, those Men expect their Wages and discharge incessantly. where am I to find Money to pay them.

What Encouragement is to be given Men who may have an Inclination to enter for the Ship and how Long time are they to be Engaged for.

What provision is to be made for the Familys of the Men we have Lost in the *Fox*.

How are the relatives of the few Slain to apply for their Bountys.

What Stoppages are there to be allow'd on the Men for Venerials, for Barber and for Chaplains.

What provision is there to be made for the Officers who live on board the Ship, as to their eatting and drinking.

These are questions which I hope you will be kind Enough to Answer Speedily as the impatience of the Multitude requires an immediate application.

[1] Letter Book.

As to the time t'will take to refitt the Ship for a Cruise, was it possible to know when she would be Man'd, I might easily tell you, but I am of opinion that the Ships Bottom should be the last thing Medled with, her Stores of all kinds ought to be ready and her Provisions ready so that immediately after Cleaning she should have nothing else to do but Take them in and proceed to Sea. I am Gentlemen Your humble Servant.

Boston 4th Sept. 1777.

To The Hon'ble The Navy Board appointed by Congress for the Eastern district at their Office in Boston.

To John Browne [1]

Sir

You are hereby required and directed to Muster the Ships Company Tomorrow Morning by Seven o Clock.

When Muster'd you are to place Centinels so as to keep them from dispersing, then you are to unrigg the Fore Topmast and put it on Shore, in like manner the Main and Mizen Topmasts taking care to have the rigging Tally'd so that no mistakes may happen. The Jebboom you will also have in and ashore, the utmost dispatch must be made to prepare the Ship for Sea. Your humble Servant.

Boston 5th Sept'r 6 o Clock P M.

To Lieut. John Browne of the *Boston* Frigate.

To the Navy Board, Eastern District [1]

Boston 6th Sept'r 1777

Gentlemen

Your Letter of yesterday I rec'd and shall Observe your Orders therein Contain'd.

As ther are Severall things wanting to fitt the Ship for Sea, I have Set down at the foot, a few of the most Material Articles that you may have time to provide them.

Should also take it as a favour, That you would be pleased to Order a Survey on the Ships Standing rigging, as we are of opinion that it is not Sufficient for a winters cruize.

It will be Likewise Necessary for you to determine how I am

[1] Letter Book.

to proceede in fitting the Ship, That is whither the work will depend wholley on our own People without any farther encourage't then their monthly wages. I am Gentlemen, Yours.

2 New Cables of 16½ inch 120 fatho. each.
3 New Top sails
3 New Top Gall't Sails
3 New Steering sails
1 Jebb
50 Tons of Pigg Ballast.

GENTLEMEN [1]

In my last Letter to the Hon'ble Marine Committe dated 25th Ulto. you may remember that I have mention'd Capt: Palmes, his being under Arrest. The Solicitations of the other Officers on his behalf prevail'd with me to grant him all the Liberty he desired. Had he resumed his duty and behaved properly since his Enlargement, I might have possibly overlook'd all that was past, but inasmuch as he has again misbehaved and appears incouragable, 'tis my duty to insist on his being brought to Tryal as soon as possible. The crimes I have to accuse him with are misaplication of the Ships Stores, Neglect of duty, disobedience of orders, and attempts to Excite Murmuring and Mutiny among the Ships Company. You will therefore be pleased to give orders that a Competent number of Officers be Collected together at this place as soon as may be to hear and determine on this Matter.

Another request I have to make is that when those Gentlemen are Collected here for the purposes aforesaid a number of Sea officers only shall be Ordered to form themselves into a Court of Enquiry to hear and Examine Evidencies such as can be found Capable of giving information of the State of things on the 6th, 7th, and 8th days of July last in the little Squadron Command'd by Capt. John Manley.

To the Intent that Facts may be Established by the Testimonies of numbers who where then present on board the Boston.

I am Gentlemen, Your most Obed't Serv't.
Boston 9th Sep'r 1777.

To the Hon'ble Gentlemen
of the Navy Board at Boston.

[1] Letter Book.

To Horatio Gates [1]

Boston 15th Sept'r 1777

To His Excellency Major Gen'l Gates.

Sir

A certain Benj'a Hall Tappin did inlist for three years in Capt. Jabez Lane's company in Colonel Nixon's regiment haveing had repeated promises that he should be appointed a Serg't.

With these assurances he went into the country to recruite, and inlisted four men at one time, three at another time, and brought them to Boston, where meeting a certain Mr. Buckminster, then Adjutant to Nixons Regiment, Tappin was order'd to march as a private. His Captain being absent, Tappin refused to march untill he was reimbursed forty dollars of his own money which he had laid out for the Support and mentainance of the Seven men he had inlisted for the reg't, also insisted on the promises he had of being appointed a Serjant.

A Misunderstanding arose between himself and the Adjutant, so that he (Tappin) left him and enter'd on board the Continental Ship under my command, concluding with himself That provided he continued in the Continental Service, and return'd the Bounty he Should do no wrong.

As this man proved an Active trusty Seaman, he soon Attracted my attention, so that makeing my self acquainted with his past life I came to the knowledge of the foregoeing circumstances, which I found bore verey heavy on his mind during the Cruize.

On our return to this place I waited on Gen'l Heath praying him to give me up this one man as I had already given up a great number of Landmen who had first inlisted with me, and immediately afterwards enter'd into the army. This I have done repeatedly and there is scarcely a week passes but I have an opportunity of doing the like.

The Principall I go upon is, That if an able bodied Landman inlists for One year on board my Ship, and in one week after chooses to enter into the Army for three years, I will consent that he shall goe because I think it is of more importance to the Service to have a man for three years in the Army, then it can possibly be to have the same man for Only one year on board of my Ship. With these Sentiments it has been offten in my power to help officers to men, and it very seldom happens that I have Occasion to ask such favours of the Gentlemen in the Land Service.

[1] Letter Book.

General Heaths Answer was, That Colnel Nixons Regiment was now in your department; That nothing could be done for me, or my man in this case but by your Excellencys particular directions, and desired me to Lay a State of the matter before you by Letter, which I have faithfully represented to the best of my knowledge.

You will be pleased to consider that this man has been bred to the Sea, has been Mate of a Vessell in the Merchants Service, and has freinds who are able to give him good Employ as soon as the War is over, the Soldiers Life is totally disagreeable to him, and if ever he does well 'twill be in that proffession to which he has Serv'd his youth, he is content to Stay in the Continental Service by Sea and is worth prefferment.

Will your Excellency be pleased to let me keep this man, on my returning the Bounty, or must I give a Landman in his room, or what Else will you be pleased to have done with him.

Your former Friendship for me has encouraged me to hope that you will not refuse me this favour. I will therefore keep him untill your Excellencys pleasure concerning him be known, which I humbly pray may be by return of the post.

May God preserve your precious Life and Crowne you with health, Success and Victory, is the ardent wish of your Most obed't Serv't

HECTOR McNEILL.

To the Council of Massachusetts [1]

To the Honourable Board of Council of the Massachusetts State.

GENTLEMEN

I understand that your Hon'ble Board intend to dispatch a Flagg of Truce to Halifax. Suffer me the Liberty to Send you a List of my Officers, and men who are now prisoners there, Humbley praying that you would be pleased to take Such Steps as will Set them at Liberty as soon as possible, more Espacially such a number of those first on the List, as may be an Equivalent for the officers, and men, of the *Fox,* now prisoners here. You will be pleased to Consider that many of my men have familys here in a Suffering Situation, which of Necessity will grow greater from their Absences.

I am Gentlemen with due Respect y'r Most Obed't Servant.

Boston 16th Sept'r 1777.

[1] Letter Book.

To John Bradford [1]

Sir

I have frequently apply'd at your Office for two peices broad white Bunting, and a piece of narrow also, this is to renew that demand as at present the Ship has no Colours to hoist. It will be necessary for you to provide Pitch, Tarr and Turpentine with Sulphur etc. and two Barrells of Tallow for the Ships use; we have not Tarr enough to Tarr the Yards which is much wanting. Yours

Hector McNeill.

Ship *Boston* Octo'r 1st 1777.

To John Browne

Sir

You may remember I told you on Tuesday last, That I had heard from Severall hands, That you had often said you did not intend going to Sea in the Ship *Boston*. When I put the matter to you, the answer you made me was not satisfactory.

I do therefore insist on a positive Answer in writing whither you intend to Stand by the Ship the next Cruize, Or whither you intend to quit her before she goes to Sea. Your answer in writing will instantly determine me what to do. I am Sir Your humble Servant

Hector McNeill.

Ship *Boston* Octo'r 3d 1777.

To Lt. Jno. Browne of the *Boston*.

To Robert Pierpont [2]

Sir

Captain John Johnston, now a Prisoner here, to my certain knowledge did in the year 1775 bring out a Cargo of Goods, and a Gang of Carpenters to Quebec there intending to build a new Ship; in Septem[r] that same year I found him with his new Ship in some forwardness, when the news arriv'd of the Garrison of S[t] Johns being beseiged and Government began to put themselves in a State of defence. They immediately took all Capt.

[1] Letter Book. John Bradford, Continental Agent at Boston.
[2] Mass. Archives, CLXXXIII. 205.

Johnstons hands off the new Ship and insisted on himself entering into the Artillery who were chiefly composed of Masters, Mates, &c. belonging to the Merchant Ships there detained. Sooner than comply, Capt. Johnston left his new Ship, his Cargo, and all, and took passage for England, as also did all his People, one only excepted and he was killed in the Storm of y^e^ 31^st^ Decem^r^ when Gen^l^ Montgomery fell. Capt. Johnston return'd last year a passenger to Quebec bringing with him Sails and rigging for his new Ship, but on his arrival he found that she had been taken to peices and her frame carried up to Lake Champlain. He return'd to Britain and was now on his way to New York in the Merchant Service.

Now this poor Man has a family and it is notorious that he has Kept himself as much out of Action as possible. May it not be hoped that he be not long detain'd here but sent to N. York, at which place he has some Bussiness to Transact; in the mean time may he be indulged with leave to stay on Shore at Lodgings here untill the Flagg of Truce be ready to depart. I am Sir with all possible Esteem Your most humble Servant

HECTOR McNEILL.

Boston 6^th^ Octo^r^ 1777

[Addressed] To M^r^ Robert Pierpont
Commissary of Prisoners
Present.

To LAWRENCE FURLONG[1]

Your Letter of yesterday was handed me by Mr. Gregg. In answer to which I tell you that (my orders of the 17th Sep'r last which are placarded on the bulk head in common view) those orders have met with the approbation of the Navy Board, and I expect that you and every other Officer whose duty it is to keep Journals will comply with them.

The misfortune has been that yourself and many others of the late Officers of the *Boston* fancied yourselves totally independent of me — consequently not accountable. The course of your whole conduct the last Cruise and since our arrival, proves this, but I am not that blockhead of yesterday you vainly immagine. I will have you and all Men know that as Officers under my Command you are accountable to me for your Conduct and without my

[1] Letter Book.

approbation no Man has a right to Wages or Prize Money — as to paying the Wages to Officers and Men, I have done it too Long for mine own advantage. Whenever the Hon'ble Congress appoints a pay Officer it will take a great deal of trouble off my hands.

As to your reference to the 9th Article of the Masters instructions, it touches me not, the order I gave the 17th I had a right to give, and none but fools would have refused to comply with them. Yours

HECTOR MCNEILL.

Boston 7th Octo'r 1777.

To JOHN BROWNE[1]

SIR

On the 3d instant I put the above Letter into your hand, to which I desired you would give a positive answer immediately.

This you have Neglected to do, — in any Other way then by Absenting yourself from the Ship, and Neglecting your duty.

From this circumstance and many others, togeither with the totall Neglect and contempt with which you have treated my Orders of every kind for some time past, I do conclude, That you Neither intend going in the Ship yourself nor wish that others should go.

I shall therefore write to the Hon'ble Congress to Supply your place with some person who may be better disposed to cary on the Ships duty then you have been.

In the mean time I think it my duty to Suspend you untill the pleasure of Congress be known. You are Therefore hereby Suspended from the Office of Lieutenant of the Ship *Boston* in the Service of the united States of America, and are hereby also strictly forbiden any farther Exercise of Authourity as an Officer on board the Said Ship or any thing belonging to the Same from the day of the date hereof.

Given on Board the *Boston* Ship of War in the Harbour of Boston this 9th day of October 1777.

To Mr. John Browne.

[1] Letter Book.

To the Marine Committee [1]

Ship *Boston* at Boston 9th Oct'r 1777

To the Hon'ble the Marine Committe of the Continental Congress.

Gentlemen

Your Orders of the Sixth ultimo I have rec'd and shall do my outmost to Execute them with all possible dispatch. We have Shifted our Standing rigging on the Main and Fore Masts since our arival and are well on with evrey other kind of repair of which the Ship stood in need, and I prepose cleaning her Bottom the Next full Moon, as the tides will then fully answer to Lay the Ship ashore. Our main dificualty will be to procure hands, as we are daily robb'd of our men by both privatiers, and merchant men; the Extravigant wages given by the Latter, and the great Encouragements given by the former, togeither with some mismanagement amongst our selves has left us a thin Ship. Nevertheless I hope to get to Sea before the cold weather sets in.

In my letter of the 25th of August I did inform you that Capt. Palmes of our Marines was under Arrest, and that I could not see how he could be brought to a Court martial as we were only a Single Ship in this Port.

As Soon as the Navy Board mett here I did apply to them by Letter of the 9th of Sept'r last requesting that they would call a Suffeicent number of Officers from Providence to Sit on that court martial, Also to hold a Court of Enquirey on our proceedings the Last cruize, That all possible Evidence might be collected from our Ships company (before they Scattered) concerning the Loss of the *Hancock* and the *Fox*.

I am now told that the Expedition in Contemplation Against Rhode Island, is the Cause why those officers have not been Ordered here as I requested.

This happens a Little unluckey at present inasmuch as an Example of justice is wanting at this time on persons who commit such crimes as Capt. Palmes Stands Charged with — That other men may see and refraine in time from such misdeeds. His crime is Neglect of duty, Misapplication of the Ships Stores, disobedience of Orders, and frequent attempts to raise discontent and Mutiny among the Ships Company. If either of these crimes be proved against him, I flatter my self that the Hon'ble Congress will never give him another Commission to Cast into the fire as he did that with which they Once honoured him.

[1] Letter Book.

In Consequence of some altrication between Mr. Browne the first Lt. and Some of the people on board I have been led to Examine narrowly into his Conduct, which I find so reprehensible that I have this day Suspended him untill the pleasure of Congress be known.

I have charged him with Neglect of duty and a Designe of detaining the Ship in Port all winter by persuadeing some and threatning Others to quit the Ship, so that he may live ashore here in ease and idleness, some of his predominate vices.

Our 2d Lt. Mr. Simon Gross, is now a prisoner at Halifax, our third Lt., Mr. Hazekiah Welch, is here, and is determined to abide by the Ship. Mr. William Faris, a young man who has served as a Mate and Midshipman on board, is both a Seaman and a Gentleman. Him I have appointed to act as a Lieutenant untill it shall please the Hon'ble Congress to Confirm, or Disapprove, of my choice. The former I shall look on as a favour; the Latter will not make me uneasy.

A Verey Singular instance has turn'd up here which I cannot forbear takeing notice of. When the Agents advertized in the publick prints that the *Bostons* Prize Money was to be paid I published the following order on board the Ship which I caused to be placarded in the most publick place of the Ship —

The Officers, viz. Mates and Midshipmen of the Ship *Boston,* are to produce fair Copys of their Journals, Signed by their own hands, in order to intitle them to their wages and prize money for the Said Ship.

Ship *Boston* 17th Sept'r 1777.

H: McN.

The above order gave offence to Severall of our officers, and they refused to give in their Journals, on which I stop'd the payment of their prize Money. As for Mr. Palmes, 'tho I Expected no Journal of him, yet as he was under Arrest I thought proper to detain his, untill his fate was decided by a Courtmartial.

In this case those Gentlemen found themselves a Little Embarras'd and tho they would not acknowledge my authority over them So much as to render copy of their Journals, yet they found that I had Stop'd payment of their prize money untill they should Comply with that Order.

Messrs. Vernon and Deshon of the Na[v]y Board being at this time up at Providence, Mr. Palmes went thither and Sollicited an

order to Obtain the Prize money for himself, Mr. Browne and Mr. Furlong, the Master. By his false representations of Facts he amused those Gentlemen so much that they wrote to the Hon'ble Gen'l Warren, requesting that he would take some Steps with the Agents to Oblige them to pay those men their Shares whither I would or not. This was not all but the most Extrordinary Step was that they also preposed to appoint Mr. Palmes to go on board the *Warren* at Providence as Capt. of Marines, and to shift the Capt. of Marines of that Ship into the *Boston,* and all this to be done without takeing notice of the Arrest under which Capt. Palmes had been, ever since the 10th of Aug't last.

This I must Complain of as a most unprecedented Step. Never was a man taken from under Arrest and preffer'd to any other Employment without first undergoing a Court Martial. Nor is it possible that ever good order should Exist in armys, or fleets, without takeing care to punnish, cashier, or repremand, such as shall on due trial be found guilty of such offences. If precedents of this kind be permitted once to take place, farewell Discipline and good Order, farewell Honour, and honesty. The Service will then become a recepticall for unclean birds who will hereby be Encouraged to take Shelter there, and all men of good principals will totally forsake it.

Who the man is whom these Gentlemen propose to put on board the *Boston* in Palmes his room, as comeing from the *Warren,* I cannot tell; but I hear he cannot Live on board the *Warren.* 'Tis an Old Proverb, that two cheats make the bargain even — but my determination is, never to receive a turn'd over Officer from another Ship without he brings an ample certificate in his hand from his former Commander. This I know to be consistant with good discipline and common honesty and nothing but a resolve of Congress to the contrary will prevail with me to alter my opinion.

God and Nature has said, That one head is indispe[n]sibley Necessary on board of a Ship. On that head or principal person, evrey other must have such a Measure of dependence as will urge them to Obey his commands with chearfullness. His Authority over his Officers and men should be such as to render all his Lawfull commands not only their duty but their intrest to obey them without hesitation. In this channell a Ship full of men may be Governed by a prudent man with ease and certainty, but if ever his authority be disputed by a Second person, a third and a fourth will arise. Consequently the whole will run into Anarchy and Confusion.

To return to the duty of officers with respect to producing Journals, I must say that I know of no Sea Service in the world where Officers are Exempted from this so interesting a piece of duty.

Copys of their Journals must be produced at the pay office with their Captains certificates of their Services. Otherwise they can Expect neither pay nor prize Money, but as we in our Service are frequently in advance for our Officers over and above their wages, their prize money is the only cheque we have upon them. This I think will Justify my proceedings in Stoping their Shares for the reasons already given. Not only this but I will aver that there Never was a Ship on the Continent Either publick or private, whose prize money was paid so soon, and so faithfully as ours has been.

I must now beg leave to give my Opinion respecting Marine officers for such Ships as ours, so much hampered for want of room. I think in concience a Subeltern is Enough, three Marine officers takes up so much room to accomodate them that we are pinch'd beyound measure to afford it. Then they have Little or no duty to do, are allways in the way and apt to disagree with the Sea officers so that it takes much trouble to mannage them, then they run away with so much of the prize money from Officers who are realy usefull, that 'tis painfull to hear the murmerings it Occasions. Might it not be proper to Lessen their Number down to one on board the frigates and give what the other two did Enjoy between the Chaplin and Surg'n. Sure I am that you must alter the System for the Surgeons in the fleet, otherwise you will not have one Man of abillitys in the Service.

I have a young man with me whose Name is William Lamb — in case you think proper to appoint only one Marine officer for our Ship, he well deserves the prefference and I should take it as a favour.

A young French Gentleman (his Name is Peter Cavey) who was with us as a Voluntier last cruize appears fond of a Brevet for a Lieutenancy of Marines. If it be Consistent to let him have what he desires, 'twill make him verey happy. I mention this at his request and partly as a recompence for his warm wishes for the wellfare of this country.

This will be handed you by Doctor Linn, the Surgeon of our Ship whom I must beg leave to recommend to your particular Notice.

I am Gentlemen etc.

I cannot close this Letter without acquainting you that I am now upwards of three thousand dollars in advance for the Ship, not haveing rec'd one farthing since my arival either to pay off the old hands or Engage new ones. This has everlastingly been my case since I have been with the Ship — the Service I have Ever been Obliged to cary on unsuported, so that I am weary of such work; as both the publick credit, and mine owne have Suffered for want of due Supplys.

To John Adams [1]

Sir

This will be handed you by Doctor John L. Linn, the Surgeon of our Ship. He goes to Congress with designe to Represent the hardships himself and others in that capacity, Suffer at present, from the inadiquate appointment allow'd to Surgeons on board the Navy; I think that instead of crowding our Ships with Marine officers, who are only a burthen, and of no Service in life on board a Ship, 'twould be well to give the Surgeons more Encouragement, and reduce the Number of the Marine officers to one Subeltarn, on board the frigates; then let the Surgeon Share with the Lieutenants and master, in place of the Capt. of Marines, who is as useless a piece of furniture on board a Ship, as a broken pair of bellows at a fire side.

How long shall we Languish here for want of Support — here am I, struggling with dificualtys inumerable; and want of cash has ever been our Lot, since I have been in the service. I was at one time last Spring four thousand pounds in advance for the Ship. I am now more than three thousand dollars in advance, and all this without fee or reward. I must Confess that I am weary of such work. May I ask the favour of you to think of me a Little now and then, if matters of greater importance will permitt your thoughts to range so far from your daily Toils.

May God strengthen your hearts in this day of trial, and save our country by his Almighty power. your Most obed't Servant

Boston 9th Oct'r 1777.

To the Hon'ble John Adams, Member of Congress for the Massacussets State.

Copy of the above was sent at the same time to Mr. Sam'l Adams.

[1] Letter Book.

To John Butler [1]

Boston Oct'r 14th 1777

Sir

I make no doubt but some Sparks of your former Friendship for me will appear, when ever I stand in Need of your good offices;

Such is my case at present. Fortune of war has drawn a young kinsman of mine to Halifax. For him is the inclosed Letter with a bill on our Mutuall Friend Mr. Watson. Shall I intreat of you to pass this bill throu your hands, and give him the Money, he indorseing the Bill. I am Sir your most Obed't Servant,

H. McN.

To the Hon'ble John Buttler Esq'r
at Halifax.

To Robert McNeill [1]

Boston 14th Oct'r 1777

Dear Robert

This brings you a bill of twenty pounds Sterling on Mr. Brook Watson of London.

I have wrote to the Hon'ble John Buttler of Halifax, to take up this Bill and pray him to give you the Cash on your endorseing it.

I send this to help you and your fellow prisoners (your ship mates in the *Boston*) and I hope if any of them stand in Need you will not see them suffer, John Garrat, Thos. Lovering, among the common men and Gideon Woodwell if he behaves well.

You may Acquaint Mr. Gross and Mr. Harris That I have remitted Cash to both their familys.

I would have sent you more credit but that I have hopes of your being soon relieved. Farewell.

To Robert McNeill, prisoner at Halifax.

To John Hancock [2]

. . . . . .

by which means I have got the Ship ready for the Sea (there being nothing to take in at this present time but the Sea provisions

[1] Letter Book.

[2] Letter Book. The first part of this letter is missing.

the powder and a few small Stores), yet for want of money we are obliged to put off the discharged men with Tears in their eyes and are unable to Enter new men, haveing no money Either to pay the former or ingage the Latter.

The incessant Complaints I am obliged to hear of those poor men who want their wages, and the poor women whose husbands are in Captivity while they and their children are Starveing, is Verey discouraging circumstances, and must in the end be fatall to the Service. For Gods Sake, and for your own Sake and your countrys, be pleased to take some Steps whereby those complaints may be redress'd.

Wishing you health and evrey bless[ing] I am Sir.

To the Hon'ble Jno. Hancock.

To the Council of Massachusetts [1]

Boston 28th Oct'r 1777

To the Hon'ble Councill of the Massachusetts State.

Gentlemen

Last Lords day week a certain Mr. Baker who calls himself a Warden did insult a Centinel which I had placed for the Security of the Ships Stores, now altogether on shore at the head of the Hon'ble Mr. Hancocks Wharfe. The Lower Store on that Wharfe is full of them and the Cannon, Cables, Topmasts, yards, Schott and Water Casks takes up the whole Wharfe as far up as the said Store. The Centinel had receiv'd orders to Let no Person Trample upon, nor even go amongst those Articles thus Exposed, either in the Night time, Or on the Sabbath, as the officers of the Ship and most of the Men, were then supposed to be absent, either taking their natural rest, or at some place of Publick Worship.

The reason why such orders had been given the Centinel, was — that several attempts had been made Secretly to Stop up the Vents of our Cannon as they lay on the Wharfe.

These with the Cables, Yards, Topmasts, Anchors, Shott Water Casks, etc. being all Expos'd on the open Wharfe none other Security could be obtained for them Except the Care of the Centinel.

I therefore Conceive it was my duty to appoint one and that

[1] From the Gray Papers.

I had an undoubted right to give such orders, and shall still do what I know to be my duty in this respect, oppose it who will.

One thing I am sure of, that none but bad Men would oppose such a Measure, as the Safety of the Ship and Stores depends on the care that we who are intrusted with them may take of the whole.

On Saturday last a Person who call'd himself a Peace Officer, tho' unknown to me applied desiring I would deliver up that person who had been Centinel on the preceeding Sabbath with whom Mr. Baker had the dispute. This I refused to do being perfectly assured that the Man had only done his duty, and as perfectly Satisfied that Mr. Baker's proceedings was vexatious, Litigious and Spitefull which has been Sufficiently proved by his vile Conduct Last Lords day, for instead of observing the Solemnitys of the Sabbath, he (Mr. Baker) had made it his Business to assemble a band of ruffians, who came down the Wharfe in a Body, attack'd and partly disarm'd the Centinel, some of them Seising him behind his back, others attempting to wrest his firelock out of his hand, and one of them actually Snatch'd the Bayonet from the Muzell of the peice, with it Stab'd the said Centinel, and another person who came to his assistance, Crying out all the time they were about this unhallowed work, that they would Support Civil Government.

If Civil Government cannot be Supported without such measures as these, let it be remember'd that all Men may make the same pretences for Committing any outrage whatever.

My reason for not permitting the officer to go on board the Ship is obvious to all Men who know the nature of Shiping and the Character of Seamen — in the first place, all Possible Excuses for doing Mischiefe or committing irregularitys shou'd be totally taken away from Seamen, their boisterous rude nature being but too apt to catch at any occasion that may offer as a pretext for their Leaping the bounds of good Government. For this reason they ought to be Strictly governed and closely employ'd about their duty as much as Possible. This I have made my Study and have Govern'd that Ships Company for several Months last Winter alongside of the Wharfe, without having one Complaint against any of them, and I think I can bid defiance to all who shall accuse them with unruly behaviour out of the Ship, either on the Sabbath or any other day since the Ship has been in this Port. If this be truth as I can abundantly prove, with what face can it be expected I should give up a faithfull Centinel to the Mallice of an officious durty fellow, who so far from observing the de-

sign of his own appointment, was the first who broke through the rules of decency and good order by attacking and disarming a Centinel placed on our own bounds to take proper care of the Stores belonging to the Ship.

Another reason I have for not suffering Constables to board the Ship, is that every pettyfogger of the Law have it in their power to send such creatures as Constables on their dirty Business.

In this way, groundless, Malicious Prosecutions may be sett on foot. This we have suffer'd in the Course of last Winter more than once. It may be said the Law points out a remedy. I confess it does, but I answer that we have something else to do with our time and Money than to spend them both in disputes at Law.

A third reason I have against permitting Constables to Search Ships is, the moral certainty of their receiving ill treatment in the operation. This would be almost impossible to prevent, nay I shou'd think from what I know of Seamen that such a man on such an errand would be likely to Loose his life or some of his Limbs, rather than find the person he was in pursuit of.

Therefore I am sure it will only tend to farther mischief to insist upon it.

If the Men belonging to the Ship I Command Committ any disorder in the Town or injure the meanest Inhabitant, I Promise to do my utmost that he may be punished according to Law, but if any person comes on board the Ship, or amongst the Ships Stores, or into the Store House hired for the use of the Ship, and there quarrells with my people, I think they ought to reap the fruits of their own folly.

On the Contrary whenever a Complaint is brought to me against one of my Men for committing an unlawfull Action, I will deliver up that Man to the officer of Justice ashore, but I cannot think it prudent to permitt an officer to follow a Man on board the Ship, where it is more than probable he will meet with Dammage rather than find the person he wants.

The reason of my troubling you with this affair, is that I understand a complaint has been made to your Hon'ble Board concerning my refusing Constables, Wardens, etc. a permition to search the Ship. Whatever that complaint may be I am ready and willing to make my defence when call'd upon before your Honours, where I make no doubt I shall be heard with Candour. I am Gentlemen Your most Obed't Servant

HECTOR MCNEILL.

[Memorandum] Copy of my Letter to the Council Oct'r 28th 1777.

Certificate [1]

These Certify that Thomas Shaw, Seaman belonging to the Ship *Boston,* did on the 19th day of June last fall from the head of the Main Topmast, by which accident his Skull was fractur'd, his Collar Bone and Jaw Bone broke and has finally lost the use of his left Arm, he is therefore recommended to the Hon^ble^ Navy Board for such a Provision as they see Meet.

Hector McNeill.

Ship *Boston,* 27^th^ Decem^r^ 1777.

Petition to Congress [2]

To the Honourable, the Continental Congress.

The Petition of Hector McNeill, most humbly Sheweth,

That your petitioner, haveing had the honour of commanding the continental ship *Boston,* did sail on a cruise from Nantasket road, on the 21st of May 1777, in company with, and under the command of John Manley Esqr. commander of the *Hancock.*

That dureing the aforesaid cruise a Brittish Frigate, call'd the *Fox,* was captured, by the continental ships above mentioned; which Frigate was lost on the 7th of July last, and the *Hancock* also on the day following, both taken by the Enemy.

That in consequence of this Loss, courts Martial have been held on both the commanders of the Continental ships, by the proceedings of which court and more especially their finall Sentence, your Petitioner thinks himself exceedingly Agreived; inasmuch as he finds himself thereby rob'd of his reputation and exposed to perpetuall infamy (as he humbly conceives) without even the Shaddow of Law, or justice, as will sufficiently appear by the severall reasons set forth in his protest of the 30th June 1778.

Your Petitioner humbly presumes, that he can make it appear — That he has not been guilty of any offence within the compass of any of the Articles of war prescribed by the Honourable Congress for the government of the American Navy — and thinks it extremely hard to be condemn'd by Opinion or Prejudice, without Law — he therefore most humbly implores the mercy, and justice of the hon'ble Congress, to save him from the impending ruin, with which he is threatned, and prays that they would order the proceedings of the aforesaid Courts Martial to be re-

[1] Chamberlain Collection, Boston Public Library.

[2] Papers of Continental Congress xlii. 5, 73.

vised, or take such other Steps as their Wisdom shall think most Expedient for procureing him that Justice which he finds himself under a Necessity of Seeking from them alone, and your Petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray etc. etc.

HECTOR McNEILL.

Philadelphia, 25th July, 1778.

[*Memoranda*] Hector McNeill's petition to the Hon'ble Continental Congress July 25th, 1778.

Read 29 July, 1778. Referred to the marine Com'ee.

To JOHN PAUL JONES [1]

PHILADELPHIA, September 4th, 1778

DEAR SIR, —

Many are the Trials, Sorrows, and heartakeings which have fallen to my Lot since I had the pleasure of seeing you.

There can be no doubt of your being acquainted long 'ere this, with the State of my affairs, and of the treatment I have met with, from those of whom I had a right to Expect better things; but as no Sinner can be completely fitted for damnation, without being guilty of the Sin of ingratitude, by this time 'tis to be hoped, That the Cup of the Measure of their iniquity of my enemies may be nearly full.

Such have been my sufferings and so many and mighty are the Numbers of my unprovoked Enemies, That I cannot refrain from comparing my Case, with that of the man (we read of) who fell among the Theives.

One of the greatest pleasures I have had, has been hearing from you, by three Letters; which I hereby acknowledge the rec't of; and since that hearing of your prosperity. May God preserve you, and send you safe back, to your american Friends among whom I trust you rate y'rs,

HECTOR McNEILL.

To Jno. Paul Jones, Esq'r.

Addressed,

To John Paul Jones, Esq'r of the *Ranger*, at Brest. Favour'd by Capt. Bell.

Forwarded by Dear Sir Your assured h. St.,

L'Orient 23d Oct'r 1778. MOYLAN.

[Memorandum] From Hector McNeill Esq'r, Philadelphia, Sept'r 4th, 1778. Rec'd Brest Oct'r 28th, 1778.

[1] John Paul Jones MSS., Library of Congress.

To His Wife [1]

Philadelphia, [September] 14th 1778

My dear Mary,

I received your Letter of the 27th of last month. I am rejoiced to hear that you are in health. May that kind God who has hitherto preserved us continue his favours, and make us thankfull.

I have been detain'd in my affairs here, by a slight indisposition, but am now in good health again bless'd be God; I have wrote you several Letters since my being here, but none of much importance, so that theire miscarrying gives me no other pain, then that of your Anxiety about me. I have goten all my papers in such forwardness, that I hope Next week will enable me to Lay them before the Committee. Mr. Adams has been as freindly as I could Expect and will, I trust in God, continue to assist me throu with this dreadful Load of care and Sorrow. The heat of this place was exceeding troublesome to me, and the Expence enough to destroy me but as I am here I will see the matter ended if possible before I quit the place but you may be sure I shall make all the haste to your dear arms, that I possibly can.

My Compliments to the doctor and all freinds. I would have wrote him but my Neck is almost broke with Stooping at the pen for three weeks past — during the whole week past, I have not stir'd out of my room except to go up and down Stairs to Victuals. As to our Liveing Over the winter, I hope God will open some door for our Support, at least we must comfort ourselves by compareing our own cases with that of other peoples. We shall not be so badly Situated as many others; the cry is generall in this place as well as with you. Many people are reduced to great Misery here, and the Necessarys of life exceeding dear.

My Love to you, and my bles[sing] to my Children. May God preserve you all,

Prays your affectionate Husband

Hector McNeill.

I wrote one Letter by the post this day fortnight, but of no Consequence. You need not write to me after the rec't of this.

[1] From the Gray Papers.

John Paul Jones to Thomas Bell [1]

Brest Nov'r 15th 1778

My dear Sir,

It was reported and believed here that you had gone to Passy immediately on your Arrival; otherwise I should have written to you as soon as your return to France was anounced. I duely received the letter which you brought from Captain McNeill. I thank you sincerely for your obliging letter of the 3d which unfortunately did not come to my hands till the 12th, else I should have written a Variety of letters to America. I fear they would be after this too late to find you at L'Orient. I forwarded a Packet the 13th for Mr. Morris which I beg you to sink together with the inclosed, rather than suffer them to fall into the Enemies Hands.

Your account of the particular affection towards me of Mr. Morris, Mr. Hewes and other worthy Characters affords me the truest pleasure. I would far rather have the Esteem and Friendship of a few such Men than the empty applause of Millions, who possess less liberal souls. Yet I confess to you that my Vanity is greatly Flattered by your Account of the generous Public approbation of my past Services. And I pledge myself to that generous Public that it shall be my first care and my hearts supremest wish to merit the continuance of its approbation, by my future Services and constant endeavours to Support the Honor of Freedom's Flag.

I should have been happy to have received letters from my friends in America: you say they did not expect to find me still in France; but that need be no Objection after your return to Philadelphia, as you will see by the within copy of a letter from the Commissioners to the Minister of the Marine; which I send you *in Confidence*. Do not however conclude from what you read in that letter, that I mean to draw my Sword as a Commander under any other than the American Flag. The Mystery of my present situation has given foundation to the Vulgar error, that I am on bad terms with the Commissioners at Paris. The Million cannot otherwise account for my not having proceeded in the *Ranger* — as they have seen a Man [2] in disgrace called back from Nantes to take that Command, who has not had gratitude enough to acknowledge that he owes it either to my lenity towards him-

[1] John Paul Jones MSS., Library of Congress.

[2] Lieutenant Thomas Simpson, formerly first officer of the *Ranger*, who had been put under arrest by Captain Jones.

self, my feelings for his Wife and Family, or to my duty, which obliged me to oppose the Commissioners who were about to supersede every Lieutenant in the Service, by giving a Captains Commission and the Command of the *Ranger* to Mr. Livingston, who had only made one little Cruise from Bordeaux in the *Boston,* and had left that Ship immediatly on her return to L'Orient on pretence of *Bad Health.* I am sensible however, that this Vulgar Error has been and may be of great disservice to me as almost every person who has gone from France to America within the last three months, have taken with them, in consequence of it, the belief of my Disgrace. Be you my Friend well assured that tho' it has given me much pain to take the steps I have done with an officer, yet I can and will justify myself. They were measures of Necessity, not of choice; yet strictly within the letter and spirit of the Laws of Congress. And if I am blamable, it is for having shewn an ungrateful Man too much lenity. That however is an Error which the Head only will condemn: the Heart will pardon it.

Your account of the situation of Philadelphia and of our Poor Marine distresses much; but let us not altogether despond. Tho' I am no Prophet, the one will yet become the *first City* and the other the *first Navy,* within a much shorter space of time than is generally imagined. When the Enemies land force is once conquered and expelled the Continent, our Marine will rise as if by Enchantment, and become within the memory of Persons now living, the wonder and Envy of the World.

I am exceedingly sorry for Captain Youngs [1] misfortune — the more so as I had the misfortune to advise him to go into Ockrocock. I expect however that he will continue in the Service and have better Fortune. And I hope you have not quitted it. I really feel for my old Friend Captain McNeill and his Family. I'm afraid he has been sacrificed to appease the Cabals of a set of Bad Men, who to my knowledge, owed him the utmost Gratitude. But without entering into the merits of his case, I attest to you that besides his general knowledge of shipps, he inherits more *Marine Knowledge* than any other Man, with whom I have had equal conversation, in the Service: Therefore the loss of such a Man would be very Great.

I am sorry and much disappointed by not hearing from Young, who said so much about his wife's Friend my Fair Mistriss! by his Silence I fear I have a Rival who by Opportunity and im-

[1] John Young of the Continental brig *Independence,* wrecked at Ocracoke Inlet, North Carolina.

portunity may make great and Dancerous Advances towards the Heart before I can arrive to raise the Siege. I'm afraid this making Love by Proxy will not answer; and I shall Despair of its Success Unless I soon receive some Encouragement. I will write to Mr. Brown that good Friend to whom I owe singular Obligations. I will write to Young also and to McNeill, but that I may not loose this Post I have only time to beg you to send me the best Account you can of the Situation of the officers mentioned in the within list, and if you have any Papers, Resolves, or Rules of Congress respecting the Navy in your hands you will much oblige me by Sparing them if you can. My late faithful Subjects have taken, I will not say pilfered, all mine, among other things "For Ships Use." I will see you if you do not depart very soon. If I should not, may the God of Ocean give you Safe Conduct. I am Sincerely your Friend,

[J. Paul Jones]

Thomas Bell, Esq'r [1]

[Addressed] Thomas Bell, Esq'r, L'Orient.

From John Paul Jones [2]

Brest, Nov'r 17th, 1778

I have received, my dear Friend, your letter of the 4th Sept'r last from Philadelphia. Beleive me I have felt and do feel for you and your good Family all that affectionate Sorrow and regret that ought to actuate the Mind of a Friend. I am to this hour unacquainted with the detail of your strange misfortune. Strange! It must be, since why did not your Enemies step forth with their Cabals immediatly on your return to Boston? I have had the mortification to see the *Boston* here, with such Officers! Our Navy makes no very Brilliant or promising beginning. Nine out of Ten of the actors in a certain Sphere as far as my knowledge goes, have the most selfish, contracted Souls that ever animated human Nature. But the supreme power of America will soon I hope have leasure to seperate the Wheat from the Chaff. There are in the World in some Classes a great Majority of Dunces, who wish to root out and extirpate every thing like genius that comes among them, least their little selfish Minds should be exposed and their grovelling actions outshone. And where it is

[1] Captain of an American privateer.

[2] John Paul Jones MSS., Library of Congress.

the hard lot of a liberal Minded Man to be connected with such beings, he may well be said to have " fallen among the Theives." I have seen an old Lieutenant of mine on board the *Providence,* Mr. Pitcher, who tho I had but a moments time with him told me that your treatment had been very personal and Unjust, and that he had publickly given that as his Opinion at the time in Boston.

I shall at present only return you my Sincere Thanks for your good Opinion and good Wishes. No man I believe ever had more Credit for a *little service* in Europe than myself. Yet I can assure you that my Roses have not been without a Superabundance of Thorns. I have experienced Ingratitude from Men to whom I had shewn the highest degree of Hospitallity and Kindness — even after repeated instances of their misbehaviour: But this is the way of the World and we must do good without views of thanks. Captain Bell will inform you further. I have written to him and hope he will favor me with the particulars that respect you: In that Case you will hear from me again by him if a letter can overtake him at L'Orient. I wish you Happy in everything and I wish America may not overlook your principles and Abilities to support the Honor of her Flag. I am My dear Sir with real Affection Yours,

[J. Paul Jones]

Hector McNeill, Esq'r
Captain in the American Navy.

N.B. When you write to me direct to the Care of Mr. James Moylan of L'Orient, Mr. John Ross or Mr. Jon'a Williams [1] of Nantes, or his Excellency Doctor Franklin, Paris.

To His Wife [2]

Philad'a, Jan'y 13th 1779

My Dearest Mary,

May God grant you a happy New Year, and ease your Anxious thoughts concerning me. Little did I think to have been so Long detained in this place when I left your dear company but such has been my hard fate, that all my endeavours to compleat the busness I came upon has only amounted to a Shaddow without Substance. It is now no Longer kept Secret here, That the Com-

[1] Moylan, Ross, and Williams were United States commercial agents.
[2] From the Gray Papers.

mittee of Congress to whom my affair was commited have given their opinion in my favour and do acknowledge that the treatment I have met with, has been most cruel and unjust; but notwithstanding they have Agreed on this more then two months past, yet Such is the Multiplicity of busness, and continual hurry of congress, that no convenient oppertunity has yet offer'd for the committee, to deliver in their report, so as to have the matter finnished by them, So that I am determined (please God) to set out for you in the course of all next week whither it be finnished or not.

Pray keep the contents of this Letter as much to your self as possible for some weeks to come, least it should awaken the persecuteing Spirit of mine Enemies who have taken all the pains they possibly could by writeing here to prejudice me with the members of congress.

My Love and blessing and the blessing of God rest on you and my poor children who I fear have begun to feel the want of a father.

My compliments to Doctor Linn and all Freinds. I have sent by Mr. Brewer the Flour of Zinc which the doctor wrote for so long agon. Your Loveing Husband

HECTOR McNEILL.

[Addressed] To Mrs. Mary McNeill, Boston. Favour'd by Mr. Brewer.

[Memorandum] January 13 1779. Philedelfe.

HECTOR McNEILL TO SAMUEL ADAMS [1]

SIR, — Although I know that your time is constantly taken up with matters of importance, yet I cannot help begging your attention for a few moments to the case of a person now under distress in this City whose situation formerly I was well acquainted with.

I believe you are no stranger to the deplorable circumstances our army in Canada were reduc'd to, immediatly after the death of General Montgomrie.

I my self am a witness, of the amazeing fortitude and perseverance of that handfull which remained under Gen'l Arnold, who with a number much less than half the Garrison, keept up the

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, XII. 276. This letter and the three Paul Jones letters of 1782, printed below, were read to the Society at the October meeting, 1872, by the late William Sumner Appleton, Esq.

Blockade of Quebec for some months untill reinforcements arived from these States: it was at that critical time the General stood in great need of the assistance and friendship of the canadians, who although they were well disposed towards the american army, and their cause, yet were frightened by their preists, who threatened them with Excommunication, and had actually refused evrey church privelidge to any who served or inclined to serve on the side of the Americans; On this occasion the person above spoken of step'd forth, and offerd his services as a clergey-man for the canadians, which good pollicy, and the Exigencey of our affairs, inclined the Gen'l to accept, and Mr. Lobenier was accordingly appointed chaplain to a Canadian Reg't, much to the satisfaction of those poor men, who thought their eternall fillicity depended on the assistance of a priest.

It is beyound a doubt that the part Mr. Lobenier had taken rendered him obnoxious to the Brittish, consequently he was obliged to quit his native country with our retreating army and throw himself on the mercy of a people whose part he had taken in the darkest hour of their distress.

Since our arival in this City he has enjoyed, by the Bounty of congress, a small pittance, which has made his Exile Tollerable untill the setting in of the present Winter; but as the times grow worse, even with those who have much greater Resources then this poor gentleman can possibley have, so has it fallen heavyly on him; for ever since the Last of november he has been retrench'd of fire and candle, which at this pinching season of the year are undoubtedly among the Necessarys of Life; Espacially to a man in his situation, burthened with age, an utter stranger among us, and totally unable even to begg in our Language.

I know this man as a Gentleman, to belong to one of the Greatest familys in canada, and as a clergyman I believe the only one of that country honoured with the Religious Cross of Malta; I know also that he enjoyed a Liveing worth between four and five hundred pounds sterling a year, besides a Patrimonial Estate, all of which he has Lost through his friendship for the americans. What pitty it is then, that in addition to the sacrifises he has made for our sakes, he should be suffered to pine away in want and misery, during his Exile from his friends and Countrey — in short I am shocked at the idea of the consequences this mans case may produce hereafter; a time may come once more when we may stand in need of the Freindly offices of the canadians, who I fear instead of assisting us, will have reason to take warning, and reproach us with the unhappy fate of the Refugees from that coun-

try, many of whom are now Exposed to Extream poverty, and Little or no Notice taken of their sufferings.

I think it my Duty to make you acquainted with Mr. Lobenier's Case in particular, not doubting of your disposition for doing all the Good you can on evrey Occasion.

I am Sir, with due Respect and Defference, Your most Obed't Servant,

HECTOR McNEILL.

PHILADELPHIA, January 14th, 1779.

The address " To the Honb'le Samuel Adams " has a pen drawn through it. The letter is labelled, " Copy to Mr. . . . on Lobeniers Situation Jany 14th 1779." — Eds.[1]

REPORT OF THE MARINE COMMITTEE[2]

The Marine Committee to whom was referred the Trial and Sentance of the Court Martial upon Capt. McNeil beg leave to report,

That after examining with great Care and attention, the several Charges exhibited against Capt. McNeil, and the Depositions of the Witnesses produced to support them, they are of opinion, the Charges are not supported by Evidence, and that the Sentance against Capt. McNeil ought not to be carried into execution.[3]

Amendment. That the Sentance of the Court Martial against Capt McNeil be not caried into execution.

Memorandum: Report from the Marine Com'ttee on Capt. McNeil's Trial.

Read Jan'y 15, 1779. An amendment made then whole postponed.

MEMORIAL[4]

To His Excellency The President of Congress.

SIR, — The Sacrifice which I chearfully made of a Large intrest in Canada for the sake of my country, and the Impossibility of ever making good any part of that Loss, renders me but Little

[1] Footnote, *Proceedings*, XII. 276.
[2] Papers of Continental Congress, XXXVII. 163.
[3] This paragraph is crossed out in the original MS.
[4] Papers of the Continental Congress.

able to Support the Expences of a journey to this city, and a Residence in it for the Space of eight months; Yet the Reason of my attending upon the Congress, Namely to recover what is dearer to me than Life, my Reputation and Honor, and the confidence I have in the Candour and justice of that Honorable Body, and in mine own Innocence and Integrity, promise me a full Reward for this Expensive Attendance; as soon as the Happy moment Shall arive when Attention can with propriety be given to a Memorial which I was permitted to Lay before them in July Last and their Determination can be had thereon.

It may be a Misfortune to me to be Little known to the Honorable Members; but I have carefully avoided makeing personal Applications to any of them, Least I might give offence; being Sensible that this was a point of Delicacy, and that they must be jealous of their Honor as I am of my own. I have on the contrary, perhaps too Scrupulously, kept my Self at a distance from them during the whole time that I have been patiently waiting their Leisure.

May I be permitted to say, That when I first enter'd the publick Service in the American Navy, I had a Character unspotted and unsuspected; It might be thought vain if I should add, that my Ability as an officer had been Acknowledged by the best sea officers, Viz Admirals Boscawen, Saunders, Durrell, and Colvil, under each of whom I had served as Commander of an Arm'd Vessell of war, and I flatter my Self Should have been Rewarded with a better Ship, had not my Superior Atachment to this country withdrawn me from that service.

My Appointment in the continental Navy gave great Satisfaction to some of the most Zealous of its Freinds, which unfortunately for me they express'd, in such Terms, as tended to render me the Innocent Object of Envy. To attempt to point out the Rocks and Quicksands on which my poor Bark has been Shipwreck'd, would on this Occasion be impertinent; Although the most Experienced and best officers in the Navy may Suffer the Same Misfortune. I hope however I may be indulged in only Suggesting, That by the rules of the British Navy, which perhaps are as well digested as any in the known world, a courtmartial for the trial of a Captain shall consist of captains, who are in full pay and have Ships under their Command. Thus he may be said to be tried by his peers — but for the trial of an officer of the same Rank in the American Navy, it is Otherwise; the court consisting of three captains and three Leiutenants of Ships and three captains and three Leiutenants of Marines — I am by no

means Arraigning my court-Martial; but the circumstance of so great a part of it being *not Seamen* but Landsmen was materially important in my case; for although I humbly conceive it must be Obvious to any one who Examines the witnesses that appeared against me, that in diverse Material Instances they contradicted themselves and each other, my dependance in my deffence was on the Propriety of Navigating the Ship at a Most *Critical* Juncture, of which those gentlemen with the most upright intentions could not possibly form any Judgement. As there is no commander in cheife at present in the American Navy, I am deprived of the Benefit which was provided for, by the wisdom of Congress when I was appointed to a Command; — Namely of Appealing to a most able judicious and impartial Seaman, to determine whither Sentence Should be carried into Execution. Under this circumstance I was induced to throw my Self on the candour and justice of the Honorable Congress; and it is my most humble and earnest Request that my case may be taken up, considered and finally determined as Speedily as can consist with a Necessairy attention to other Matters of greater publick importance.

I am Sir with the highest Respect and deference your Most Humble and Obedient Servant

HECTOR McNEILL.

PHILADELPHIA Feb'y 15th 1779.
To The Honorable John Jay Esq'r
President of Congress.

PETITION [1]

State of Mass'tts Bay.
To the Hon'ble the Council of the State aforesaid.
The Petition of John Tracey and others of Newbury Port
Humbly sheweth

That your Petitioners have fitted out the Brig. called the *Pallas* burthened One hundred and forty Tons, mounting Sixteen Carriage Guns and navigated by forty five men,

having on board as Provisions twenty Bls. of Beef and Pork and two thousand W. of bread,

as Ammunition two hundred W. of Powder and Shot in Proportion.

Said Brig. is intended as a Letter of Marque.

[1] Mass. Arch., CLXXI. 164.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly request your Honors to Commission Hector McNeil as Commander of said Brig. for the Purpose above mentioned. And as in Duty bound will ever pray etc.

HECTOR MCNEILL *on behalf of the Concerned*

Boston May 22d 1780.

In Council May 22, 1780 Read and Ordered that Hector McNeill be Commissioned as Commander of the within Vessel, he complying with the Resolves of Congress.

JOHN AVERY, D.S.N.

[Memorandum] Petition of Hector McNeil in behalf of John Tracey and others of Newbury Port for a Commission for a Letter of Marque, with Order thereon. May 22d, 1780.

PETITION [1]

To his Excellency the Governor and Hon'ble Council of the Commonwealth of Mass'tts.

The Petition of Hector McNeil and others of Boston

Humbly sheweth

That your Petitioners have fitted out the Ship *Adventure* burthen'd three hundred Tons, mounting Six Carriage Guns and navigated by forty five men,

having on board as Provisions thirty Bls. of Beef and Pork and thirty hundred of Bread, as Ammunition two hundred W. of Powder and Shot in proportion.

Said Ship is intended as a Letter of Marque.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly request your Excellency and Honors to Commission Hector McNeil as Commander for the purpose above mentioned. And as in Duty bound will ever pray etc.

HECTOR MCNEIL

Boston Nov. 21st 1780.

In Council Nov'r 22, 1780, Read and Advised That his Excellency Commission Hector McNeill as Com'r of the Ship *Adventure* he complying with the Resolves of Congress.

JNO. AVERY, Sec.

[Memorandum] Petition of Hector McNeill and others for Commission for Ship *Adventure* and Order. Nov'r 22, 1780.

[1] Mass. Arch., CLXXI, 307.

Paul Jones to Hector McNeill [1]

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, March 21st 1782

I am honored, my dear friend, with your favors of the 7th by Post and by Mr. Brown. I need not tell you I am sorry for the difficulties that seem to stand in the way of what I mentioned respecting you to the Minister of Finance and of the Marine; who wrote me he had given Orders to Mr. Brown in consequence. Mr. Brown has not shewn me his Orders, and I cannot ask him how far they extend; but when we take leave of each other I will mention your subject and say everything I can on the occasion. I think he will do whatever may be consistent with his Orders. — I am greatly obliged by your kind intention of honoring me with a visit here. If this could be done consistent with Business, I should be ernest in Urging it; but purely as a compliment to me, however flattering it is, I must not — I cannot expect it. If your Business should bring you to Newbury, it would be easy for me to meet you there; and if you could then conveniently come on with me to Portsmouth to see the *America* [2] and spend a few Days with your Friends here, I should be very happy in your Company. — It is probable that Business may bring me to Boston in the summer, so that I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you at all events before I again leave the Continent. I am happy to hear Mrs. McNeil and your Family are well, and pray you to return them my respectful Compliments. — Excuse the liberty I take of enclosing a Guinea which I pray you to *Invest* in good Hair Powder, and ship it to my address, on a Coasting Vessel said to be now at Boston and bound here. *Entre nous* there is none of that Luxury to be had here; except such as is impregnated with Luxurious Mites. I am always Your affectionate

Paul Jones

Hector McNeil, Esq., Boston.

Paul Jones to Hector McNeill [3]

Portsmouth, May 25th 1782

I am honored, my dear friend, with your esteemed favor of the 20th. I am altogether in the dark about what has been done or is doing to re-establish the credit of our Marine. In the

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, XII, 277.
[2] The 74-gun Continental ship on the stocks at Portsmouth.
[3] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, XII. 278.

course of near Seven Years service I have continually suggested what has occured to me as most likely to promot its honor and render it serviceable to our Cause; but my Voice has been like a cry in the Desert: I know no remedy but patience. No man can be more in suspence than I am — and my reason as well as my feelings correspond with yours in lamenting the protraction of Justice to men who have merited the smiles of the Sovereign Authority. Whatever I have written or may Write to you on so delicate a Subject must be *in confidence* — I fondly hope the times will mend, and that Merit and Abilities will yet find encouragement; but were I used ever so ill I determin to persevere, till my Country is Free. When I hear any thing farther I shall not fail to write you, meantime present my affectionate respects to your family and believe me Your

PAUL JONES

N.B. I duly received the Hair Powder; which is very good and is a great favor.

Hector McNeil, Esq., Boston.

PAUL JONES TO HECTOR MCNEILL[1]

PORTSMOUTH, N. Hampshire, Sept. 17th 1782

Your Letter, my dear friend, by Monsieur Ravy, was delivered to me by that Gentleman Yesterday. I conducted him and his companion over the River to see the *America*, but as he departs this morning I am precluded from showing him the attentions due to every recommendation of yours. I expect we shall launch the *America* within four weeks, and the present prospect of affairs leaves me some room to think I may shortly visit Boston. You will believe the pleasure of seeing you and yours well will not be my *least* inducement. I am sincerely and affectionately Your friend,

PAUL JONES

Hector McNeil, Esq., Boston.

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, XII, 279.

From John Paul Jones

Cape Francois, April 26th 1783[1]

Dear Sir,

After a variety of Storms on the Coast of America in which while we endeavoured without Success first to join the Ships of War from Portsmouth, and then the *Fantasque* from Rhode Island, having separated from our Convoy, the Squadron arrived on the coast of Portorico. There we learned that Admiral Hood was off this Harbour with Sixteen Ships of the Line. Having cruised and practiced the Tactic Navale off Porto Rico for a week, we took under Convoy part of a Fleet of Store Ships arrived in the Port of St Johns from France, and steered to the Southward between Porto Rico and the Mona. On the 10th Feby the *Triomphant* Anchored at Porto Cabello in New Spain, having beat to windward many days along the Coast. We found in that Port the two Ships *L'Auguste* and *le Pluton* from Portsmouth, and all the rest of the Squadron arrived afterwards except the *Bourgougne* of 74 Guns that was totally lost on the Coast with 200 of her Officers and Men. The Transports also at last arrived except a few that bore away for this Island and one that was lost on little Curacoa. We remained at Porto Cabello to refit till the 5th of this Month and then Sailed for this port, having a few days before received by a Frigate from France the glorious and agreeable News of a general Peace. Porto Cabello was the Rendezvous given by Don Salano to the Marquis de Vaudreuil. We found the Spanish Squadron here, they having learned the News of Peace at Porto Rico. The squadron of France and the Army are Ordered for France — that of Spain with thier Army are ordered to the Havannah. I embark to Night in a Vessel bound for Philadelphia. I shall be happy to hear from you on my arrival there and to be favored with your opinion on the present situation and the most prudent measures to be adopted for the first three Years respecting the formation of our Marine, both as to Officers, Ships[2] and Regulations, as well as materials and building &c. I have not been Idle since I saw you, but have collected many Ideas on the Subject. If I can render you any Acceptable Service at Philadelphia, you will avail of the Occasion of my being there, and if you please you will mention what is done with my Horses. I pray you present my respectful compliments to Mrs McNeil and your young Ladies. Accept my compliments that the posi-

[1] From the Bostonian Society.

[2] This word is crossed out in the original MS.

tion of Public Affairs will now enable you to reclaim and withdraw your Interest from Canada, and be assured that no circumstance that concerns you is to me indifferent. It will give you pleasure to know I have been treated with perfect and Uncommon Kindness by all the Admirals, Generals and other officers of the Fleet and Army.[1] I am your friend and Servant

J. Paul Jones

Hector M^cNeil, Esq^r Boston.

To John Paul Jones [2]

Boston June 11th 1783

Dear Sir,

With inexpressible pleasure I Rec'd your kind Letter of the 26th of April, writen at Cape Francois; it came to hand yesterday, and brought me the wellcome News of your health, and your intention of returning once more to this continent.

I thank you for the narrative you have given me of your Late Excursion with the Marquis de Veaudrile and find my self extremely happy, that you are so well pleased with the reception you mett with from the french gentlemen; who it must be acknowledged, are truely polite on all Occasions.

As to your Horses, Mr. Russell sent them out into the country for keeping, and towards the Spring I sent a certain Colonel Hull (who wanted a pair of Horses) directions where to find them. Whither he liked them or not I cannot say, but I reather think he did not like them, as in case he had Seriously thought of purchaseing them he would have call'd upon me again, but Mr. Russell told me that he had a prospect of Selling [them?] to our Mr. Lowell a Member of [illegible] Since which I have said nothing to him about them.

Your Sleigh I did endeavour to have it brought to Town, but was not able to effect it oweing either to the want of snow, or the infidelity of the several Messengers by whom I sent.

I shall take an oppertunity of answering the other part of your Letter, and in the mean time assure you of my sincere wishes for your health and prosperity. My family who are in good health Joine with me in those wishes. I am Your freind and Humble Servant

Hector McNeill.

To the Chevelier Jno. Paul [Jones].

[1] Captain Jones was with the French fleet, on board the flagship of the admiral, Marquis de Vaudreuil.

[2] John Paul Jones MSS., Library of Congress.

Henry Knox to Mrs. McNeill[1]

New York 2 October 1787

Dear Madam,

Yesterday I received your favor of the 14th of last month together with the accounts and vouchers, of my much valued friend your late husband. I most willingly undertake the office you have assigned me. I have delivered the papers to the Commissioner for the marine department and I am flattered with the hope, that in a few days a statement of the accounts will be made. You may rest assured that this business shall be brought to the speediest issue consistent with the essential forms of office.

In every instance within my power, I should experience real satisfaction, in being able to promote in any degree your interests and those of your family. I am dear Madam with sincere respect Your most obedient humble Servant,

H. Knox[2]

Mrs. Mary McNeill.

New York October 10th 1787[3]

Dear Madam,

I wrote you on the 2d instant that I had received the accounts of your late husband with the United States and that I had delivered them to the Commissioner of the marine department.

I now enclose you a statement made by the commissioner which with the explanations accompanying it will point out the difference between it and the account you forwarded.

Although I had perfect confidence in the equity and abilities of Colonel Walker,[4] the commissioner, yet I conceived that it might afford you more solid satisfaction were the accounts also minutely investigated either by me or some other person on your behalf. I employed a gentleman in whom I could confide, who has satisfied me of the accuracy and propriety and even liberality of the settlement of Colonel Walker.

You will find that Captain McNeil overcharged the public with the sum of £4,193.8.0 and that he also credited himself for more than he ought by the amount of £3,246.3.9 and that the difference against him in these debits and credits amount to £947.4.3. which sum when reduced to specie is 1018 $\frac{45}{90}$ dollars.

The great article of deduction from the account forwarded is

[1] From the Gray Papers.

[2] General Henry Knox, Secretary of War.

[3] From the Gray Papers.

[4] Benjamin Walker, Commissioner of accounts, Marine Department, Continental Congress.

the commissions amounting to £448.8.11, which has never been allowed in any similar case.

On the whole the result of the account as stated by the Commissioner is not different in any considerable degree from the one stated by Captain McNeil of March 30, 1778 and herewith returned together with the account settled by Mr. Cushing.

Captain McNeil stated a balance due him of $6176\frac{65}{}$ which when liquidated by the scale of depreciation would be $1992\frac{60}{}$ dollars. The sum in specie allow'd by the Commissioner is $2091\frac{54}{}$ which is more by $98\frac{84}{}$ specie dollars than the liquidated sum stated by Captain McNeil.

It is to be observed that had not the commissioner seperated the articles of pay and subsistence of Captain McNeil from the general account that the balance of specie would have been less by two thirds than it now is for those articles of the account.

The article of subsistence is the only article which has been assumed — all the others were supported by evidence in the office: if this article should not be agreeable to you and you can produce satisfactory evidence to make it appear that he was a longer period on shore and will please to forward it, the account will be conformed accordingly as will also any other parts on your producing evidence to support a different statement.

But if you should consider the account as stated by the Commissioner as the proper settlement or the best that can be obtained and will signify the same to me I will receive the certificates from him for the balance due and remit them to you by the first opportunity. It is to be observed that the certificates for the balance will be for specie. It is however to be lamented that they are at present most exceedingly below par, but it is the only payment that can be obtained and such as has been given to the late army and all others to whom the United States are indebted. The certificates will bear an interest of 6 per cent from the time the balance became due.

I am Dear Madam with great sincerity Your most obedient humble Servant

H. Knox.

Mr. Norcross exhibited, with brief remarks, the original return of the coroner's jury on the death of Michael Johnson, alias Crispus Attucks.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. Dowse, Norcross, and Shattuck.

Alden Bradford

MEMOIR

OF

ALDEN BRADFORD[1]

By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

Alden Bradford, an early member of this Society, was born in Duxbury, Massachusetts, November 19, 1765, and died at Boston, October 26, 1843. His career was somewhat more varied than that of the New England "Brahmin caste" to which he belonged, embracing as it did the ministry, politics, journalism, theological and historical writing. In no sense an eminent person, he was what his contemporaries would call a "highly respectable character," of whom the death notices concluded "A good name is better than riches." Out of the large number of Massachusetts historians, he is one of the very few who produced a history of that commonwealth.

Fifth in descent from the governor and historian of the Plymouth Colony, Alden Bradford was the offspring of Colonel Gamaliel Bradford, and of Sarah Alden, a descendant of the hero of Longfellow's poem. Nowadays, the posterity of these Pilgrim fathers is scattered over the entire United States; but in the year 1765, when Alden Bradford was born at Duxbury, the greater part of them lived within a day's ride of Plymouth Rock, exercising every calling from merchant and divine to yeoman and laborer. The particular line of Bradfords from which Alden was descended, had maintained the Governor's tradition of public service. Alden's

[1] Compiled largely from a MS. memoir by his son, Thomas Bradford, and from a notice by John G. Palfrey in the *Christian Examiner*, xxxv. 375 (1844).

grandfather, the Hon. Gamaliel, had been a member of the Council of Massachusetts Bay, and a judge in Plymouth County. His father, Col. Gamaliel, earned his title in the War of Independence, after serving also in the Seven Years' War. He was a magistrate, a shipowner, and a person of some consequence in the little shipping community of Duxbury.

The family, as yet, had achieved no distinction outside the field of public service. No one of Alden's ancestors had been to college. His brother, and elder by two years, Captain Gamaliel, showed great promise as a boy, and was being prepared for college by the leading lawyer and the minister of Duxbury, both Harvard graduates, when the Revolution broke out. Gamaliel followed his father to the war, and won an ensign's commission at the age of sixteen. On obtaining his discharge in 1783, at the age of twenty, Gamaliel was considered too old to become a freshman; doubtless he did not relish the idea of being in a class below his brother Alden, who in the meantime had become the family representative at Harvard. Gamaliel thereupon went to sea, rose quickly to the command of a vessel, and lost a leg when commanding an armed merchantman during the naval hostilities with France. From the little that he wrote, one feels that Captain Gamaliel's literary talents were decidedly superior to those of his younger brother; and his mind was more active and robust. But for the war, Captain Gamaliel might well have attained the distinguished place in letters that was sought by his brother, but not attained.[1]

Graduating from Harvard in 1786, Alden Bradford supported himself for a year by teaching school in Milton, and then began to study for the ministry with the Rev. Dr. Samuel West of Dartmouth. "Father West," as his pupils called him, was a leading light of his day, a protagonist of the doctrine of free will, and precursor of a liberal theology.[2]

[1] See Alden Bradford's memoir of his brother in 3 *Collections*, I. 202, Dr. Convers Francis's memoir of Dr. Gamaliel Bradford, (son of the Captain) in 3 *Collections*, IX. 75, and Edward H. Clement's memoir of Gamaliel Bradford (1831–1911) in *Proceedings*, XLVII. 356. One of Captain Gamaliel Bradford's daughters, Sarah Alden Bradford, as Mrs. Samuel Ripley, was famous for her erudition as well as her efficient conduct of family and household; see Emerson's remarks on her in his published Journals.

[2] See Bradford's generous notice of him in his *New England Biography*.

In 1790, Bradford obtained a license to preach from the Plymouth Association of Congregational ministers; but instead of taking a parish, he accepted an appointment as tutor of Greek at Harvard College. On January 25, 1793, he was elected the twenty-fifth resident member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and shortly after contributed to the *Collections* a topographical description of his native place.[1]

During the same year he resigned his college position and accepted a call to the Congregational Church of Wiscasset, then the East Parish of Pownalborough, District of Maine.

No one can pass through Wiscasset today, without noting the spacious elm-shaded mansions of brick and wood, built in the dignified style of architecture that prevailed in the Federalist period of our history. One of the more modest sort was built by Bradford about 1810. Considering the long passage to open water, down the Sheepscot River, the nearness of other seaports such as Bath, Damariscotta and Boothbay, the early prosperity of Wiscasset requires some

[1] Bradford resigned from this society in 1820, before his historical work was fairly begun, on the ground that he could no longer afford the annual dues. He was tendered a resolution of thanks for his services, granted the use of the library on the same terms as resident members, and continued to contribute to the Collections; even to describe himself as a member on the title-pages of his works. An ill-judged act of generosity on his part, at the expense of the Commonwealth, subsequently involved the Society in difficulties. Bradford at this time was Secretary of the Commonwealth, and as such had charge of the Archives. Finding among them a mass of manuscripts formerly belonging to Governor Hutchinson, evidently preserved from destruction at the time of the Stamp Act riots, and only accidentally, apparently, belonging to the state archives, Bradford obtained informal permission from the Governor's Council to present them to the Society. The following year, he reported his action to the General Court, which made no objection. The Society accepted the manuscripts, and printed some of them. In 1846 the Commonwealth demanded their return, but was refused (*Proceedings*, II. 332, 436–41). In 1870 the demand was renewed, but again refused (*Proceedings*, XI. 335–44); but in 1874, after a suit in equity for their possession had been entered against the Society, they were returned (*Proceedings*, XIII. 217–32). Of course, Bradford should have obtained a joint resolve of the General Court before handing over to the Society anything in possession of the Commonwealth, however dubious the Commonwealth's title to it might have been. But a hundred years ago state officials, antiquarians and autograph collectors were accustomed to help themselves to the contents of public archives; and Bradford doubtless felt that the best way to insure the preservation of the Hutchinson MSS. was to present them to the Society.

explanation. Alden Bradford gives it, in the description which he contributed to our Collections in 1800. The Sheepscot River, unlike the Kennebec, was easily entered by sailing vessels, and almost never obstructed by ice. Ten fathoms could be carried up to the Wiscasset wharves, at one of which the largest vessels of that day could float at low water. The back country was fast being cleared into farms; and lumber, the staple product of the region, could be floated down the tidal portion of the Sheepscot, and diverted from the Kennebec by the Sassanoa River and Montseag Bay. Wiscasset was conveniently situated for shipbuilding, and her lumber found a ready market in Great Britain and the West Indies. In 1800, thirty square-rigged vessels were owned there, and in 1807, just before Jefferson's embargo, which brought the golden age of its prosperity to a close, Wiscasset owned 16,350 tons of shipping, which put it ahead of such ports as Gloucester, Providence, New Haven, Alexandria and Savannah. It was also a shire town. Our young minister, then, found himself in a brisk, prosperous community, with a pleasant society of merchants and professional men. Shortly after his settlement, in 1795, he married Margaret Stevenson, of Boston, the daughter of a Scots merchant, and granddaughter of George Duncan, one of the Scots-Irishmen who came to Massachusetts-Bay in 1718.

Although Wiscasset was a healthy spot, writes Bradford in his description, " More persons die of consumption, than of any other disease. And this is probably owing to the too frequent use of spirits, and tea. A great proportion of the common people are intemperate in the use of spirituous liquors, and often drink tea twice a day." In view of these remarks, it must have afforded the good people of Wiscasset some amusement as well as grief when in the following year, 1801, their pastor himself was attacked by " lung fever." As the doctors gave him only a few months to live (he actually lived forty-two years), he resigned his pastoral office. Quickly improving in health, he obtained an appointment as clerk of the courts in Lincoln County, which enabled him to prolong his residence at Wiscasset.

As this appointment indicates, Alden Bradford was a

Federalist. His printed fast-day sermons, his eulogy of Washington, and his Fourth of July orations, leave no doubt of the ardor of his political opinions. Consequently he lost his office in 1811, when Governor Gerry made the memorable clean sweep.

Removing to Boston, Bradford established a bookselling and publishing business under the name of Bradford & Read. It was unsuccessful, and the firm broke up in two or three years' time; Bradford was still paying its debts in 1820.

In the meantime, the Federalists had returned to power, and in 1812 the Great and General Court elected Alden Bradford to the important office of Secretary of the Commonwealth.

During the twelve years that he occupied this position, Bradford edited a volume of Massachusetts State Papers of the Revolutionary period, (still a most useful collection), wrote anonymously several theological tracts, and published the first volume of his *History of Massachusetts,* covering the period 1765–1775.

This volume, and the two others which brought Massachusetts history down to 1820, filled at that time a "long-felt want." The third volume of Hutchinson had not yet appeared, and Minot's *Continuation* brought the story only down to 1765. But Bradford's work had no permanent value. Although a careful, honest, and on the whole accurate historian, his conception of history is narrow, his style dry and lifeless, and his treatment of recent events partisan, without the vigor that is the merit of that defect. Nor does he seem to have profited by the abundant archival material under his charge as Secretary of the Commonwealth. The third volume, however, contains in an appendix some important state papers of the War of 1812; perhaps the only part of the work for which a student of Massachusetts history might profitably consult it. Otherwise, it was superseded by Barry's Massachusetts, and the last volume of Palfrey.

The same lifelessness and narrowness characterize Bradford's other historical work — his one-volume *History of Massachusetts for Two Hundred Years,* and his *History of the Federal Government for Fifty Years,* which appeared on the eve of the presidential campaign of 1840, with a fulsome

dedication to William Henry Harrison. Even as a local historian, Bradford is not to be mentioned in the same breath with Belknap or Hutchinson.

In the state election of 1824 the Federal party was again defeated, this time for good, and once more the political axe was felt by Alden Bradford. "There was indeed a charge against me," he writes, "that I had shown some private letters of the Governor. But this was proved to be wholly untrue, soon after; and the Governor acquitted me entirely, in the affair, of dishonorable or improper conduct. After this, I devoted myself, more than usual, to literary labors."[1] Of his many productions, theological, historical, political and biographical, the only one of genuine merit is the Life of Jonathan Mayhew, which, owing to generous quotations from Mayhew's letters and writings, has a value equal to the best contemporary biographies of revolutionary worthies.

His only other biographical work of any pretention, the *New England Biography* of 1842, violates the first principles of a biographical dictionary in omitting dates of birth, death, appointment to office, and the like. Bradford contributed articles to the *Boston Magazine, Hunt's Merchants' Magazine,* and other periodicals.

Alden Bradford did not, however, wholly abandon politics. In 1824, after his removal from office, he became editor for a time of the *Boston Gazette*. He was chairman of an anti-Adams caucus in Boston, before the presidential election of 1824. He obtained an appointment as justice of the peace in New Bedford, at a time when that office involved duties now performed by a police court. There he became interested in anti-masonry. After his return to Boston, we find him mentioned among those present at a meeting of "Temperance Whigs."

Alden Bradford's printed sermons, during his active ministry, bear the stamp of orthodoxy. After his removal to Boston he joined the Brattle Square Church, the cradle of Boston Unitarianism. In his Life of Mayhew, and in several theological tracts, he flays Calvinism without mercy. In a pamphlet of 1823 he describes himself as a Berean, and the

[1] From an autobiographical fragment, copied by the Rev. John Pierce into his Diary (MS.), n.s. I. 328.

following quotation from Palfrey's memoir seems to indicate that Alden Bradford was considered rather a tardy recruit to the Unitarian ranks. "His theological works, manifesting themselves uniformly as the fruits of candid, inquisitive and upright investigation, and betokening the action of a kind and Christian spirit, would have attracted more attention, had they appeared at that different period of theological inquiry in this country, when their author's opinions were formed."

Faint praise indeed; and in the same memoir Bradford's historical work is significantly unmentioned. But Palfrey's tribute to Alden Bradford's character is without qualification. "He was a man of sterling and independent honesty, in speculation, in purpose, and in act . . . He had a generous and hearty public spirit. His tastes were only for useful and liberal pursuits. His activity was indefatigable; there was no more danger of his mind being permitted to rust on the eve of fourscore, than in the bloom of life. He was perfectly candid and tolerant; he readily allowed every rightful claim of others, and made no parade of his own; and in his preferences of sect and party, there was no alloy of narrowness or ill-will. It was a pleasure to him to do a service to friend or stranger. He had the kindest affections, an eminently social disposition, and a tenderness of sensibility which is rarely seen to outlast so much experience."

Alden Bradford died in Boston on October 26, 1843. He had been one of eight children. His father was one of a family of ten, his grandfather one of seven, and his great-grandfather one of fifteen. Eight children were born to Alden and Margaret Bradford. But only three of the eight married, and only one of the three, Margaret (Mrs. William Havard Eliot), bore issue. Three of the others, "Uncle Tom," "Aunt Sarah," and "Aunt Lucy Ann," as they were known to the writer's family, lived to an advanced age, rather forlornly, in Boston and Brookline boarding houses, too independent to pool their slender resources.

Bibliography. The following list of Alden Bradford's writings which were published separately, includes several items that have not previously been attributed to him. It is compiled from his

own list of his works, which the Rev. John Pierce copied into his diary, now in our cabinet.

The titles have been collated with copies of the works, most of the anonymous imprints having come down to the writer in a bound volume of pamphlets owned by Alden Bradford, and endorsed as his writings by his grandson, Samuel Eliot.

Two Sermons, upon the Doctrines, Character and Kingdom of Christ, delivered in the First Parish in Cambridge, December 28, 1794. By Alden Bradford, A.M. Pastor of a Christian Society in Pownalborough. Boston: Samuel Hall, 1795. pp. 31.

A Discourse delivered at Hallowell, at the opening of the Academy in that Place, May 5, 1795. By Alden Bradford, A.M.S.H.S. Pastor of the Church in Pownalborough. Printed by Wait, Robinson & Baker, at the Hook, Hallowell. 1795. pp. 23.

Two Sermons, delivered in Wiscasset, (Pownalborough) on the 9th of May, 1798, which the President of the United States had previously appointed to be Religiously observed as a Day of Humiliation and Prayer throughout the Union. By Alden Bradford, A.M. Minister of the Christian Congregational Society in that Place. Wiscasset: Henry Hoskins & John W. Scott, 1798. pp. 17, 20.

An Eulogy, in commemoration of the "Sublime Virtues" of General George Washington, late President of the United States . . . Pronounced in Wiscasset, February 22d, 1800 . . . By Alden Bradford, A.M.S.H.S. Wiscasset: Printed by Henry Hoskins. 1800. pp. 116.

A Sermon, delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. Nathan Tilton, to the Pastoral Care of the Church and Society in the Second Parish in Scarborough, December 10, 1800. By Alden Bradford, A.M. Pastor of the Christian Society at Pownalborough. Portsmouth N. H.: Charles Peirse, 1801. pp. 27.

An Oration, pronounced at Wiscasset, on the Fourth of July, 1804, in commemoration of American Independence. By Alden Bradford. Wiscasset: Babson and Rust, 1804. pp. 19.

A Sermon delivered at Plymouth, December 21st, 1804; the Anniversary of the Landing of Our Fathers in December, 1620. By Alden Bradford, A.M.S.H.S. . . . Boston: Gilbert & Dean, 1805. pp. 24.

A Sermon delivered before the Congregational Society at Thomaston, (Maine) November 2, 1806; being the Lord's Day after the interment of the Hon. Henry Knox . . . By Alden Bradford, A.M.S.H.S. [Wiscasset]: Babson and Russt [*sic*]: *n. d.* pp. 16.

An Address, delivered at the Opening of the Academy, in Wiscasset, (Maine,) November 16, 1807. By Alden Bradford, A.M. S.H.S. Wiscasset: T. Loring, 1808.

An Oration delivered at Wiscasset, July Fourth, A.D. 1808; the Anniversary of American Independence. By Alden Bradford, Esq. Hallowell: N. Cheever, 1808. pp. 20.

An address delivered before the Wiscasset Female Asylum, October 8, 1811. Being their first Public Meeting after the Act of Incorporation. By Alden Bradford. Hallowell: Nathaniel Cheever, 1811. pp. 16.

Evangelical History: or a Narrative of the Life, Doctrines and Miracles of Jesus Christ, our blessed Lord and Savior, and of His Holy Apostles; containing the four Gospels and the Acts; with a General Introduction, and Prefatory Remarks to each Book; and Notes Didactic, Explanatory, and Critical . . . By Alden Bradford . . . Boston: Bradford & Read, 1813. pp. 528. Map.

Cursory Remarks on Rev. Dr. Worcester's Second Letter on the Subject of the Trinity. By a Layman. Boston: John Eliot, 1815. pp. 14.

Language of Scripture respecting the Savior in relation to God the Father. By a Layman. Boston, 1815.

Speeches of the Governors of Massachusetts, from 1765 to 1775; and the Answers of the House of Representatives to the same; with their Resolutions and Addresses for that Period. And other Public Papers relating to the Dispute between this Country and Great Britain, which led to the Independence of the United States. Boston: Russell and Gardner, 1818. pp. 424.

The usual binder's title is "Massachusetts State Papers."

Biography of the Hon. Caleb Strong, several years Governor of the State of Massachusetts. By Alden Bradford. Boston: West, Richardson & Lord, 1820. pp. 30.

The stipple portrait of Caleb Strong (H. M. S. Doyle pinx., I. R. Smith sculp.) which first appeared in Burdick's Massachusetts Manual for 1814, is used as frontispiece.

Letter to Reverend Dr. Woods, occasioned by his Address to Unitarians, containing Remarks on the Rev. Mr. Channing's Sermons. By a Layman. Boston: Munroe and Francis, 1820. pp. 15.

Attributed to Alden Bradford on the copy in the Andover Theological Library, Cambridge.

Letters from a Gentleman to his Son: on the Elements of Natural and Revealed Religion. Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1821. pp. 30.

History of Massachusetts, from 1764, to July, 1775: when General Washington took command of the American Army. By Alden Bradford, Secretary of the Commonwealth. Boston: Richardson and Lord, 1822. pp. vii, 414.

Remarks on the Miraculous Character of Our Lord. By a Berean Layman. Boston: R. M. Peck, 1823. pp. 30.

Remarks on State Rights. By a Citizen of Massachusetts. Boston: Richardson & Lord, 1824. pp. 53.

A defense of the actions of the State government during the War of 1812, and of the Massachusetts war claim.

History of Massachusetts, from July, 1775, . . . to the Year 1789 (inclusive,) . . . By Alden Bradford, author of the volume of History of Massachusetts published in 1822. Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1825. pp. 376.

A Particular Account of the Battle of Bunker, or Breed's Hill, on the 17th of June, 1775. By a Citizen of Boston. Boston: Cummings, Hilliard & Co., 1825. pp. 26.

Same. "Second Edition" between author and imprint. pp. 27.

The Scripture Doctrine concerning the Messiah. By an Aged Layman. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1826. pp. 15.

History of Massachusetts, from the Year 1790, to 1820. By Alden Bradford. Boston: Printed for the Author, by J. H. Eastburn, 1829. pp. 327.

The appendix of documents covers pp. 291–327.

"The Apostles' Doctrine" concerning Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. By the Author of "The Language of Scripture respecting Jesus Christ, the Saviour, in relation to God, the Father." Boston: West, Richardson & Lord, [1829]. pp. vi, 31.

History of the Life and Opinions of the Apostle Paul. By the Editor of Evangelical History; the author of Remarks on the Miraculous Character of Christ; the Apostles' Doctrine; Biblical Emendations, etc. . . . Boston: Gray and Bowen, 1830. pp. 82.

A Discourse delivered before the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others, in North America. November 4, 1830. By Alden Bradford, Secretary of the Society. Boston: John Putnam, 1830. pp. 51.

The Doctrine of the Bible concerning the Messiah. By an Aged Layman. Second Edition. New Bedford: Benjamin T. Congdon. 1834. pp. 24.

Reprint of "The Scripture Doctrine," 1826, with appendix.

History of Massachusetts, for Two Hundred Years: from the year 1620 to 1820. By Alden Bradford, An Original Member of

the Massachusetts Historical Society, and Honorary Member of the Historical Society of New York. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Co., 1835. pp. xii, 480. Folding map by James G. Carter as frontispiece.

Remarks on Capital Punishments and the Penitentiary System. By a Citizen of Boston. Boston: Tuttle and Weeks, 1835. pp. 24.

Evangelical History; or the Books of the New Testament; with a general introduction, a Preface to each Book, and notes Explanatory and critical. In two volumes. By Alden Bradford. Vol. 1, Containing the four Gospels. Boston: Joseph Dave. 1836. pp. 400. Map. [No more published.)

A revised edition reprint of the Evangelical History of 1813, in part.

Memoir of the Life and Writings of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., Pastor of the West Church and Society in Boston . . . By Alden Bradford, LL.D., . . . Boston: C. C. Little & Co., 1838. pp. 484. [Binder's title: Life of Dr. Mayhew.]

Notes on the Epistle to the Galatians, designed, particularly, to Show the Nature of the Argument. For the use of Sabbath Schools and Bible Classes. Boston: Perkins, Marvin & Co. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins, 1835. pp. 84.

History of the Federal Government, for Fifty Years: from March 1789, to March 1839. By Alden Bradford, LL.D. . . . Boston: Samuel G. Simpkins, 1840. pp. viii, 480.

Human Learning favorable to True Religion: But the Transcendental Theory hostile to the Christian Revelation. An Address, delivered before the Society of Φ. B. K. in Bowdoin College, September 2, 1841. By Alden Bradford, LL.D. A Member of the First Board of Trustees of that Seminary. Boston: S. G. Simpkins, 1841. pp. 52.

Biographical Notices of Distinguished Men in New England: Statesmen, Patriots, Physicians, Lawyers, Clergymen, and Mechanics. By Alden Bradford, LL.D., Boston: S. G. Simpkins, 1842. pp. 464.

[Binder's title: New England Biography.]

New England Chronology: from the Discovery of the Country by Cabot, in 1497, to 1800 [sic]. By Alden Bradford, LL.D. Boston: S. G. Simpkins, 1843. pp. 202.

A continuation of Prince's Chronology to 1820.

Complete and Authentic History of the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775; derived from the best authorities. By Alden Bradford, Esq. Boston: J. N. Bradley & Co., Daily Mail Office,

[1843]. pp. 13. Woodcuts of James Otis and the monument on paper covers.

Several card catalogues err in assigning the date 1825 to this pamphlet. As the preface shows, it is a reprint of Bradford's "Particular Account," on the completion of the monument.

DECEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant at three o'clock, P.M., Mr. RHODES in the chair. The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the gift of the papers and archives of the Class of 1852 of Harvard College, from Mrs. Grace Williamson Edes, of Cambridge, who received them as residuary legatee of the papers of Dr. Henry K. Oliver, to whom they were sent on the death of the last acting class secretary Dr. David W. Cheever, including an impression in wax of the seal of the class.

From Mr. Frederick J. Ranlett, of Boston, the Commission given by the Congress of the Colony of New Hampshire to Robert Boody, as captain of the Seventh Company in the Tenth Regiment of Militia, dated at Exeter, September 5, 1775.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Henry H. Edes, a daguerreotype of Col. Henry Purkett (1755–1846), who was said to have been a member of the Boston Tea Party and who served in the Revolutionary War.

From Charles P. Greenough, a number of engravings of English celebrities.

From Frank H. Shumway, a bronze relief of Lincoln, and a lithograph of the Adelphian Academy, North Bridgewater, by J. H. Bufford.

From John Foster Benyon, a lithograph by N. Currier, New York, 1845, of the "Washington's Reception by the Ladies, on passing the Bridge at Trenton, N. J., April, 1789, on his way to New York to be inaugurated First President of the United States."

From the *New Bedford Standard,* the medal awarded by the *Standard* to pupils in the New Bedford Public Schools for excellence in English.

From William L. Willey, the medal of the Newburyport semicentennial.

From Harold E. Gillingham, of Philadelphia, the World War medal of the Pennsylvania National Guard, 28th Regiment.

From Carleton S. Gifford, the French Yser medal.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Robert Lincoln O'Brien accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

Charles Allerton Coolidge, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

George Peabody Gooch, of London, England, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Captain Thomas G. Frothingham spoke on

The Effect of the Effort of the United States upon the World War

Anyone, attempting to estimate the influence of the United States upon the World War, should first of all realize that America became a part of a military situation which differed from any that had gone before. In the history of the strategy of the war, the United States will be given its place as providing a reinforcement against a contained enemy at a well defined crisis. For this reason, in any true narrative of the war, the effort of America must be described as a separate strategic factor. That our nation's service should stand out in this way does not imply undue praise, nor any comparison with the continued efforts of the Entente Allies.

The military preparations of Germany had developed so great a strength that for four years the war remained a desperate struggle, with each of the great nations of the Entente suffering the constant strain of maintaining the contest. The year 1917 ended with Russia in military collapse, and the Italian armies so shattered that they had become a drain upon Great Britain and France, at a time when the British and French armies had been woefully depleted by the losses on the Western front.

It was true that the Central Powers had failed to win their expected decision through unrestricted submarine warfare, but the beginning of 1918 found them enabled to concentrate the full German strength upon the Western front, without any danger of a diversion elsewhere, as Russia had been put out of the war and the shattered Italians could not undertake an early offensive. The resultant freedom to move troops from the East gave the Germans an actual superiority in numbers,[1] as the British and French resources in man-

[1] "Numerically we had never been so strong in comparison with our enemies." — Ludendorff.

power had been drained in the costly and unsuccessful battles of 1917, to such an extent that it had become a hard task to fill the ranks of the British and French armies. Consequently there was no hope of an increase to offset the German reinforcements from the East.[1]

Possessing this assured superiority,[2] the Germans were able to plan their great offensive of 1918 without any danger of counter attacks. Ludendorff had become the controlling power in the German General Staff. His strategy was a return to the direct methods of concentration of forces against a chosen point of attack, and new tactics had been devised by which many divisions were grouped against the chosen point, insuring successive streams of troops which infiltrated the enemy's positions and dislocated the defenders.

These new tactics were surprisingly effective against the Allies, and at the beginning of July, 1918, this formidable German offensive, in a series of overwhelming attacks, had so smashed and dislocated the Allied armies, even after they had at last been united under the command of Foch, that it is difficult to see how the situation could have been saved except by a strong reinforcement for the Allies — and this could only be furnished by the American troops.

To define this critical military situation explicitly, it is only necessary to quote the following statement of the Versailles Conference, June 12, 1918:

> General Foch has presented to us a statement of the utmost gravity . . . as there is no possibility of the British and French increasing the numbers of their divisions . . . there is a great danger of the war being lost unless the numerical inferiority of the Allies can be remedied as rapidly as possible by the advent of American troops. . . . We are satisfied that General Foch . . . is not overestimating the needs of the case. . . .
>
> D. Lloyd George.
> Clemenceau.
> Orlando.

[1] "Allied resources in man-power at home were low and there was little prospect of increasing their armed strength." — General Pershing.

[2] "When on March 21, 1918, the German army on the Western front began its series of offensives, it was by far the most formidable force the world has ever seen." — General Pershing.

Probably never before in history has a crisis been put on official record in such unmistakable terms — and by such unquestioned authority. It is a matter for solemn thanksgiving that the United States was able to provide the reinforcement needed at this emergency of July, 1918, when, as the German Chancellor Hertling expressed it, "The history of the world was played out in three days."

There is no longer any question of the fact that the German Headquarters made their calculation that it was utterly out of the question for the United States to exert any physical force upon the war.[1] The German leaders had on occasions yielded to keep us out of the war, to avoid having our resources at the service of the Allies, but the Germans applied their own formulas to our nation, and, following these, it was held a military impossibility for an adequate American army to appear upon the fighting front. It must also be said that this was the prevailing opinion among European military experts of all countries [2] — and from the European point of view a military impossibility was accomplished when our troops performed their part in the war.

Our strategic problem was an operation against a contained enemy — with the great advantage for us of freedom from danger of being attacked. But it was complicated by the condition that transportation overseas, which would normally have been provided by Allied shipping, had been impaired by the submarines to so great an extent that we were compelled to provide a large share of the transportation ourselves. The submarine menace, and its diversion of Allied naval forces, also made it imperative for us to provide a great proportion of the necessary naval protection. There was the added urgent necessity of haste — or the war would be lost.[3]

[1] "Would she appear in time to snatch the victor's laurels from our brows? That, and that only, was the decisive question! I believed that I could answer it in the negative." — Hindenburg.

[2] "Joffre in an interview with the Secretary of War in May, 1917, said that 400,000 would be our limit, and that one French port would be sufficient to receive them." — Admiral Gleaves, *History of the Cruiser and Transport Force.*

[3] "The Allies are very weak and we must come to their aid this year, 1918. The year after may be too late." — General Pershing.

This crisis demanded an effort on the part of the United States that would comprise: raising and training an army; transporting a great part of that army overseas; providing supplies and transporting them overseas; giving naval protection; providing terminals and bases overseas to receive and handle the troops and supplies. All this must be done in haste, and at the outset on the vast scale set by the unprecedented demands of the World War. There was no time for the gradual development of forces, as in the case of other nations.

No nation in history ever faced such a task, and all this was accomplished by the surge of our people, united in belief in our unselfish duty in the war — a force moral as well as physical that brought about cleavage between the German Government and the German people,[1] which became a strong factor in breaking down the German militaristic structure. Our moral force [2] sowed the seeds of German revolt against the German Government — and America's unexpected physical strength for war turned German victory into German defeat.[3]

In tracing the course of the war, the failure is self-evident of the most perfected military machine in all history — and the continued inability of the Allies to progress beyond piecemeal methods is equally apparent. The wonder of the war has been the fact that the peaceful United States proved to be the one nation that coordinated the functions of its military, naval, and industrial forces, to accomplish its full strategic objective, in the time set by a crisis and on the enormous scale demanded by the World War.

To study the causes that brought about this result will be most interesting in connection with the War. Our effort will be recognized as one of the great uprisings, which have shown the world that human forces united by some powerful fusing impulse are stronger than artificial military conditions. To find a comparison, with the exception of our Civil War,

[1] "By working upon our democratic sentiments the enemy propaganda succeeded in bringing our government into discredit in Germany." — Ludendorff.

[2] "For American soldiers the war became as it were a crusade against us." — Ludendorff.

[3] "America thus became the decisive power in the war." — Ludendorff.

it will be necessary to go to the great movements of the northern races which overran Europe. France, after the Revolution, has always been considered unique as an example of a united uprising of humanity finding in Napoleon an ideal leader. Yet, with all the years of enthusiasm for the Emperor, it was only the military and industrial forces that reached full strength. Napoleon was never able to vitalize the naval arm.

It should be bluntly stated that, in every military sense, we were unprepared, and this retarded everything at the start. For a time it looked as if European prophesies as to our helplessness in war would prove true. Then from delays and confusion emerged the miracle, the army and navy forces of the United States. It is true that all kinds of mistakes were made, but behind our operation was a strong impelling force that had not been measured since the Civil War.

As has been said, the Civil War is the only basis for comparison. In that war our nation had shown that Americans, when aroused by an appeal, instinctively developed strategy, tactics, and weapons far in advance of their time. Students of the Civil War believed that the qualities shown in that epoch-making war were still innate in our people, but European experts had never appreciated the lessons of 1865 until the World War had confirmed them, and there was even doubt in America as to whether the same fibre remained in our nation augmented by immigration.

But, at the great summons, it was shown that the same spirit was vital in the United States. We had even advanced, as a result of the American habit of mind in thinking in terms of great masses in all our industries. This made it instinctive for Americans to solve our war problems by means of the same methods, of assembling the great plants first and then their products, in men and in material, on a large scale. These American methods insured the success of our effort on land and sea.

That our nation was fused into united effort was at once self evident. There was no "first one hundred thousand." Our prompt adoption of conscription was an immediate nation-wide appeal to each community of the American people. The same was true of our loans, our food supply,

and our industries. Thus only was it possible to coordinate our Army, our Navy, and our industries. This great compelling force swept away the mistakes of individuals. The results were so amazing that we must never again doubt the united strength of America. In the words of Lloyd George, "Her coming was like an avalanche. The world has never seen anything like it."

Mr. Francis R. Hart made some remarks upon two original documents which he presented to the Society. The documents follow:

Whitehal. October the 26th 1708

My Lord. — Her Majesty having been pleased to referr to Us the inclosed Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Galway, to your Lordship (relating to an Irish Ship therein mentioned, Trading between Rochelle and Lisbon) before we can make our Report thereupon, it will be necessary we should know whether upon the said Ship's being Cleared at the Port of Dublin Security was taken in the Custome House there as is usual in such Cases, and what the said Security is. On this Occasion we must acquaint Your Lordship that by Letters received from Colonel Park, we are informed that a Trade is carryed on from the Kingdom of Ireland to the French Islands in the West Indies, for he writes that he never sends a Flag of Truce to those parts, but there are found several Irish Ships there Laden with Beef etca. And that whilst the last Flag of Truce was at Martinico, 3 large Ships arrived there directly from Ireland with Beef, which practices ought strictly to be enquired into, that the Offenders may be punished according to Law for prevention of the like for the future. We are My Lord, Your Lordship's most humble Servants,

Stamford.
Ph. Meadows.
J. Pulteney.

Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Sunderland.
[Memorandum] Council of Trade 26 Oct. 1708 about Irish Ships trading with France.

[Extract.]

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Galloway, Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary in Portugal to the Earl of Sunderland dated at Lisbon 9th August. 1708. N. S.

I must acquaint Your Lordship, that there is lately come into this Port, The *Happy,* Rich'd Knowles Master from la Rochelle laden with Barley consigned to a Factor here Mons'r L'Evesque; the Master first said he came from Dublin, but the Entry, has been made from the former Place, and he has the Queen's Pass for Bilboa, and at La Rochelle they have publish't leave to embarke Corn for Portugall which Trade, I am apt to believe they design to carry on by means of English Vessells with such Passes for better Security; As I suppose such Passes are not obtained without the Owners giving Security in England, t'will be very proper to make them answer for this Trade so much to Our prejudice.

Mr. Norcross exhibited a copy of *Système Nerveux,* Paris, 1824, by P. Flourens, belonging to the Bostonian Society, inscribed by Lafayette to his friend Thomas Jefferson. Mr. Norcross also presented eleven volumes from the library of the Rev. John Willcock, minister of St. Ringin's Church, Lerwick, Shetland Islands.

Mr. Ford read a paper presented to the Society by Mr. Frederick J. Ranlett being an

Address to Lafayette, 1825

General Lafayette, my feeling towards you Sir is Better felt than Discribed. I Bid you Twice Welcom to the State of Maine, for we must all under God Acknowledge you as one of the Temporal Savours of the United States of Amarica, who Japerded your life in the high Places of the field to Save a Runeing Nation, leveing your Native Country at three Thousand miles Distance, and at a Time when Distruction seemed to awate us on our Right hand and on our left to help Fight our Battles for us. but could you or I sir after the Laps of almost fifty years, even Antisapated a thought that we should lived to have seen this happy Moment to take Each other by the hand, to greet this happy Meeting, and that we might all of us hale this Morn and bid a Joyfull Welcom to this Ospicious Day, — but when we look Back, and Take a Retrospecttive View of 1775, and beholding the United States Involopeed in Darkness, and all that we held Deer threatned to be Arested from us, Now sir Pause for a moment, and View the Contrast, — we now sir can behold a Morning without a cloud, we see that light is sprung up out of obscurity, that Righteousness has Shined fourth as the noon Day, and that Prosparity has

crowned our Enterprise with Success, and that each one can seet under his one Vine and fig Tree and none to make him affraid. but not unto us not unto us must all this Victory be ascribed, but gods arm alone has Brought salvation to us, it is that god who maid the Earth by his Power, who formed the world by his Wisdom, who stretched out the heavens by his Understanding. and as it is the last Time Sir that I can ever Expect to see you, I wish you all the happyness that love can give and Sencibillity enjoy.

JOHN LOW

June the 24th, 1825.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. J. C. WARREN, and G. R. AGASSIZ, a Corresponding Member.

MEMOIR

OF

BARRETT WENDELL

By ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL

The paternal ancestors of Barrett Wendell were unusually migratory for the early colonial days. The first to emigrate to America was Evert Jansen Wendel who came from Emden, in East Friesland, to New York about 1640. He soon moved to Albany where the family lived for about two generations. Evert's grandson Abraham went back to New York when a boy and spent his life there as a merchant; but he sent his eldest son John to Boston in 1714, under the care, and in due time a partner, of Abraham's youngest brother Jacob — the ancestor of Oliver Wendell Holmes and Wendell Phillips. Again the tendency to migrate from the scenes of boyhood asserted itself, for John's son, who bore his father's name, after graduating from Harvard College in 1750, went to Portsmouth where he practised law. Up to this time the line seems to have been financially prosperous, but John, perhaps because he had some twenty children, could give them little, and Jacob, his youngest surviving son, the grandfather of Barrett Wendell, had to make his own way without help. Privateering ventures in the War of 1812 gave him a start, and he then embarked in manufacturing on the Piscataqua, which promised well, but shortly proved so far beyond his resources that he was completely ruined, and retained only his house in Portsmouth. This came ultimately into the possession of Barrett Wendell to whom it was an inexhaustible pleasure during the later years of his life.

Under such conditions Jacob Wendell, Barrett's father,

Barrett Wendell.

was born and passed his boyhood. At seventeen he went to Boston, and about the time he came of age he obtained employment in the selling house of J. C. Howe & Company, in which after seven years he became a partner. This enabled him to marry Mary, daughter of Nathaniel Augustus Barrett. The Barretts had been considerable people, as is proved by a number of portraits by Copley, four of which Barrett Wendell acquired in due time to his great joy.

Jacob Wendell hired a small house in West Cedar Street and here Barrett was born on August 23, 1855. But he was not destined to grow up in Boston. The selling houses of the New England mills were setting up branches in New York and in the early summer of 1863 Jacob Wendell moved there as the representative of the firm. A quiet retiring man without the brilliance of his son, he had business capacity, sterling integrity, and commanded the confidence and respect of those who met him. Not himself a scholar, he believed in the value of scholarship, and of his own motion established a foundation for the highest scholar in the Freshman class at Harvard College. Every year when not abroad Barrett showed his deep interest in the foundation and his respect for his father's memory by giving a dinner for the last winner of the Wendell scholarship and all the former holders.

From early childhood Barrett Wendell showed characteristics that continued throughout his life. He was delicate in health, disliked physical exercise, cared nothing for outdoor games or sports, and at a very tender age amused himself by writing plays. To the nervous child New York was not attractive, and it was an interlude of delight when his parents took him abroad with them in the summer of 1868. Then he first learned the pleasure of travel, which he ever after thoroughly enjoyed, and enjoyed in the best way even when overtired, keenly appreciating natural scenery and above all the monuments of the past and works of every art.

In the autumn of 1872 he entered Harvard College, but a nervous breakdown in his Freshman year brought the advice to take a long sea voyage around Cape Horn, designed to be followed by another across the Pacific. The ship put into Rio de Janeiro for repairs, and Barrett, disgusted with the conditions on board and with the captain, took the case

into his own hands, went to Europe, travelled from the Mediterranean to the midnight sun, and returned to Harvard restored in health at the opening of the next college year.

At college he stood high in his studies, though not among those at the top of the class, for his interest was rather literary than learned, and he had no ambition for rank as such. He was strongly individual, striking out for himself instead of following the conventional track. Partly, perhaps, from delicate health, partly from his experience in travel he was more mature than his fellows. At this time also he appeared to them somewhat radical, or rather iconoclastic, in temperament. That was a period when American taste was very crude, uncongenial to people who, like himself, were familiar with the more mellow traditions of an older world; and a revolt was beginning against the tone of thought which they termed "philistine" and "chromo civilized." One outlet for his energy he found in the group of men who founded the *Lampoon,* said at the time to be the best product of student life in the University, and certainly the most original. To that publication he contributed freely while in college and the Law School.

On leaving College he entered the Law School, but took little interest in the study of law and had none of the *gaudium certaminis* which made the discussions in the class rooms exhilarating for those who took part in them. After a year he left the school and entered a lawyer's office in New York. This again he did not enjoy, and coming to Boston, into the office of Mr. George O. Shattuck, tried the examinations for the bar and failed. At that time he remarked that while all the friends whose judgment he respected thought he ought not to accept a defeat, but try again, he did not himself see why he should do so. Nor did he do it; and he was right. His friends had not appreciated capacities not fully revealed, or the success that lay before him in quite a different line.

As yet he had not found his career, but in the year 1880 two things happened which determined his future. One was his marriage to Edith Greenough, daughter of William W. Greenough of Boston, a member of this Society and the other was an invitation to teach English at Harvard. Here he

began as an instructor, being duly promoted in 1888 to the rank of Assistant Professor, and in 1898 to that of Professor, of English. His teaching had two sides, both of them notable. Complaint having been made by a committee of the Board of Overseers about the teaching of English composition, LeBaron Russell Briggs and Barrett Wendell took in hand its reorganization under the supervision of Professor Adams Sherman Hill, the veteran teacher of the subject. Wendell introduced the practice of daily themes, and in fact the methods adopted by these two young men proved so effective that in substance they have continued to the present day and have been copied all over the country. The work of reading and criticising such an enormous mass of themes involved a vast amount of drudgery, but like all good workmen he knew that anything worth doing entails drudgery. It neither appalled him, nor until he had done it many years did he seek to be relieved of it. The principles he strove to inculcate, with notable success, he embodied in a series of lectures at the Lowell Institute, published in book form under the title *English Composition* — a model of what such a book should be.

The other side of his teaching — his courses on literature — is so directly connected with his writings that it may be postponed for the moment, but a word may be said about his relation to the policy of the College, for it was characteristic. By no means in accord with many of the views then prevalent in the Faculty, especially in the matter of the standard of scholarship and discipline maintained among the undergraduates, he was critical at its meetings; but his loyalty to the College and the administration made him an active defender outside. Moreover, he was not closely in sympathy with exact philological study, and regarded the requirements in this respect for the doctorate of philosophy in English as somewhat pedantic. His interest was rather with literature in its larger human aspects. Both of these things are, no doubt, essential in a university, but both are not essential for every professor, and Barrett Wendell's view of the meaning of literature grew stronger and deeper with his reading, his teaching, his own writing and his experience in life.

His career from the age of twenty-five was twofold — that of a college teacher and that of a writer. Neither of these leads to memorable adventures, but before dealing with his intellectual work we must follow the events of this comparatively uneventful life. He used to the full all three of the great instruments of education — books, travel and conversation, that is intercourse with other men. In fact travel played a large part in his development. For a man of sedentary habits he travelled much, and his journeys, as appears in the diaries that he kept in the form of letters home, show him ardently observant, keenly interested in the fellow travellers that he met and in everything that he saw. The letters are full of criticism of men and things, living and ancient, criticism mainly directed to discovering their import for the growth of human tradition and civilization. The observations he made became an integral part of his outlook on life, of his own intellectual progress, and they colored the substance of his writings.

Before he was eighteen years old he had been twice to Europe as an intelligent traveller. After graduation he went again with his father for the summer, and a fourth time in 1880 on his wedding journey. In 1884 he was sent to Chicago on the dull mission of holding there the entrance examinations for admission to Harvard College, but while in the city he obtained a ticket to the National Democratic Convention that nominated President Cleveland, an experience which he made use of later. Two years afterwards he went to San Francisco, again to hold the examinations, and took advantage of the opportunity to see much of the Rocky Mountain region and the Pacific Coast on his way out and back. Those who did not know him well would be astonished at the ease with which this apparently self-contained man of letters made the acquaintance and learned the opinions of all sorts and conditions of people.

At this period he began to write books, the first taking the form of novels — *The Duchess Emilia* into which he wove his earlier impressions of Rome was published in 1885, and in 1887 *Rankell's Remains,* a study of the American millionaire, embodying a description of a national nominating convention. As in the case of some other distinguished men of letters his

early novels had not a large sale, and were not indeed successful, although they meant much to him. He wrote them no more and turned his pen to other subjects.

Though far from robust he was an intensely industrious worker and constantly overtaxed his strength. In one of his fragments of diary he speaks of the fatigue of his college work which left him tired out at the end of the first half year. We hear much of a better distribution of worldly goods, but a better distribution of physical strength would be far more beneficial. Some men, who do little or nothing useful, have a vitality that would be profitable to mankind in others whose energy and capacity are lodged in bodies with less endurance. Barrett Wendell frequently found himself exhausted, and on these occasions he sought refreshment in travel. He always found it, and perhaps the necessity was not an unmixed evil, not only for the pleasure he derived, but also for the impressions and reflections that he stored away. In the summer of 1888 he made such a journey with his youngest brother Jacob, visiting England, Holland, Germany and France; and again in the summer of 1891 with his friend Shubrick Clymer, when he visited and was enchanted with Provence. In 1894–95 he took advantage of the sabbatical leave of absence provided by the rules of the University, and spent the year with his family in Europe.

Meanwhile, in addition to the arduous labours of teaching at Cambridge, he had been busily writing, on topics connected with his college work and on others not related thereto. In 1891 he published two books, both notable. One was the work on *English Composition* to which reference has already been made; the other was the *Life of Cotton Mather*. The labor in compiling the materials for this was naturally great. The manuscript sources, as it happened, were largely in the possession of this Society, and there was some difference of opinion among its officers on the question whether he should be allowed to use its unpublished collections, or whether they should be reserved for the members of the Society. Fortunately, the more generous view, and the one most in accord with the true purpose of such an institution, prevailed, and he was given free access to the papers. The result was a work whose merit was at once

recognized — a biography in which he placed himself with remarkable sympathy at the point of view of this strange compound of science and superstition.

He had an impression that an author fell out of sight and lost his public if he did not produce a book every couple of years. In the case of a man who could write as he did the theory was unnecessary, but at times he acted upon it. Therefore in 1893 he published a collection of papers entitled *Stelligeri and Other Essays concerning America.* The next year appeared his *William Shakespeare, a Study in Elizabethan Literature,* a landmark in his literary career. This was followed by a period of prolonged study resulting by 1900 in the *Literary History of America,* one of the books that established his standing as a scholar and man of letters.

So far his journeys had been those of a private traveller, not a public character, but by this time his writings had given him a reputation which brought demands to lecture at distant universities. He was invited to lecture in the summer of 1901 at the University of California, and he took advantage of the chance of travel it offered by going to Alaska with his wife and with that most genial of friends, Professor H. Morse Stephens. In the following year a still more attractive request to give the Clark Lectures at the University of Cambridge induced him to take a sabbatical leave of absence already overdue, and in 1902–03 lectured both at Cambridge and Oxford, spending the rest of the winter in Egypt. At Cambridge especially, where his lectures prolonged his stay, he made warm friends with whom, as was his wont, he kept in touch in after years. The lectures there were published under the title *The Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature.* About the same time he published a number of plays, written for special occasions, in a volume commonly known, from the one with which the book begins, as *Raleigh in Guiana.* This play was acted in Sanders Theatre at Harvard University, by himself and a number of his friends. In 1904 appeared another work on the *History of Literature in America* written in collaboration with his former pupil, now Professor Chester N. Greenough; and in 1906 a collection of essays entitled, *Liberty, Union and Democracy.*

Two years after the lectures at Cambridge came another foreign lectureship which proved the occasion of one of his most remarkable books. Some years before Mr. James Hazen Hyde had instituted at his own expense an annual short course of lectures at Harvard, given by a series of French men of letters, and it was proposed to reciprocate by sending a Harvard professor to lecture at the Sorbonne — a delightful custom that later ripened into an annual exchange of professors for a half year and has been maintained without a break to the present day. Barrett Wendell was selected as the first exchange professor, to lecture in 1904–05 on English and American literature and traditions. The experiment was venturesome, but he achieved a distinguished success. His lectures were open to the public, were largely attended, and attracted wide attention. He lectured not only in Paris, but also at a number of the provincial universities; and the houses of French people were opened to him and his wife with unusual hospitality. This enabled him to see the more intimate sides of French domestic life commonly unknown to foreigners. He turned his experience to good account, and after his return published in 1907 his *France of Today,* describing the real nature of life in that country. There is probably no people whose fiction gives a less true picture of their social life in its more serious and enduring aspects than the French. Their novels and plays have, therefore, given to foreigners a very false impression of that life and of the strength of family ties. They have obscured the solid virtues of the race, which the exclusiveness of the home has also tended to conceal. The French themselves have deemed Barrett Wendell's book the most accurate work on the subject, and hailed it as invaluable in portraying to other nations the true character of their people. Ambassador Jusserand later wrote of Wendell as the man who had foreseen the France of Verdun. The book was, indeed, a result of sympathetic insight, and the honorary degree conferred by the University of Strasbourg, when reopened as a French seat of learning, was a gratification as a testimony of his comprehension and love of France. The degree was conferred in the following terms:

Barrett WENDELL, professor honoraire à l'Université Harvard, écrivain, membre de l'Académie américaine des Arts et des Lettres. Le premier des conférenciers Hyde en France, en 1904–1905, il a su redécouvrir notre pays pour ses compatriotes, et dire à ceux-ci, dans un livre bien connu, ce qu'il fallait penser, en particulier, de la famille française et de notre "foyer," des Universités et du corps enseignant. Il a, dès la début d'une guerre qui n'etait encore qu'européenne, proclamé où allaient les sympathies d'une âme noble, attachée à ce qu'il y a de plus élevé dans les grandes traditions de l'humanisme occidental.

Coming, as it happened, on the eve of the Great War, the book has an especial significance, and will endure forever, the best description of the social condition of France at the outbreak of a momentous struggle in the history of European civilization.

During the next two years he published two more collections of essays; *The Privileged Classes* in 1908, and *The Mystery of Education* in 1909. In 1910–11 he went round the world, making an occasion for this by visiting a married daughter living in Shanghai. Passing rapidly through Europe he sailed to Ceylon and India, and his journal shows the keenness of his observation and his pleasure. In Ceylon he had letters to native philosophers whose explanations of their religious views enabled him to contrast the deeper traditions of European and oriental thought. He gained conceptions that illuminated all he saw of the people and of the monuments of former days. In China and Japan also, having letters to men of note, he saw much and enjoyed it all intensely. As usual, he kept a diary of his journey in the form of an almost daily letter, written in this case to his son William; and therein he records his impressions not only of the places and people that he visited, but also of the fellow travellers he chanced to meet, describing them with a vividness that showed his interest in people of all kinds. He made friends with them readily, and although quick in temper to resent rudeness, he notes the event in such a case with a sense of humor at the part he had played himself. In fact, with him affection was vastly more enduring than resentment.

This was destined to be his last uninterrupted travel beyond the sea. In 1914 he went to Europe for a couple of months,

but the journey was cut short by the outbreak of the war, and he returned. In 1916 he lectured in the West and in Texas; and in 1917 he resigned his professorship to devote himself to putting into permanent form the results of his lifelong study. His conception of the meaning of European literature as a whole had expanded with the years, and the progress of his thought is best set forth by the opening words of an address on the Ideals of Empire which he gave before the American Academy of Arts and Letters on April 18, 1917:

> During the past ten years my chief concern has been with the teaching of literature at Harvard College. Beginning with details of literature in England and in America, my task has gradually extended itself. We live in confused times, of which the confusion is nowhere more evident than in education. Year after year I have come to feel more deeply that students are increasingly apt to think of everything as distinct from everything else, to approach each phase of their study as if it existed only by itself. Thus I have been led to believe that in the closing years of my academic career I could do them no better service than by attempting to show how at least things literary can hardly be understood until we try to think of them together. My subject has gradually extended to a discussion of what I may call the traditions of European literature — traditions which include countless allusions to matters of what men have supposed to be history, to legend, to superstition, to religion, to the vastly various matters which compose the spiritual heritage of our European humanity.

This conception of the growth of European literary form and thought he had for some time been expounding in a general course on the subject at Harvard, and he planned to publish it in permanent form after his retirement from teaching. Unfortunately his frail health soon began to give way in a malady that proved to be pernicious anaemia. In spite of increasing weakness he struggled on, and the first volume of his *Traditions of European Literature* appeared when he was almost on his death bed. It covers the literature of Greece and Rome, with that of the Middle Ages through Dante, and it is the masterly work of a scholar wide in his knowledge, his insight and his sympathy. The world has lost much by the cutting short of his life before he reached the modern period to which he had devoted even more attention.

He died on the eighth of February, 1921, in his house, 358 Marlborough Street, which had been his winter home ever since he set up housekeeping on his marriage. When the news reached Paris a lecture room in the Sorbonne was named for him, a recognition never before, I believe, accorded to a foreigner.

As a man he had no quality more marked than his intense loyalty to his friends, and to the traditions of old New England. He made friends easily, kept up with them, and for those very near to him, and they were many, he had a singularly deep affection. That he should have combined an ardent attachment for New England with a strong cosmopolitan interest is noteworthy, for it illustrates two sides of his nature. He was of broader mould than everyone suspected. James Russell Lowell said of Wordsworth that he was two men, and that is, perhaps, peculiarly the case with men of letters. It was true of Barrett Wendell. There was the real man, and what he thought himself to be; and the former was the larger of the two. In his later years he thought of himself and was regarded by others as a somewhat narrow conservative. But the real man spoke in the more profound of his writings, especially in *The France of Today* and *The Traditions of European Literature*. His philosophy of life may be expressed in the words he wrote in his diary after hearing Parsival at Bayreuth in 1888. " The great truths of life are so great that most people forget they are more than commonplace. . . . Sometimes the evil seems bound to overcome all else; but the men we call the greatest speak forth a belief, all the more striking because, like all beliefs it cannot prove itself and demands a loyal sympathy, that what will prevail is the good." Later he says, " Somehow, no one has ever told us why, the good is best and always must be."

JANUARY MEETING, 1922.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P.M., Mr. RHODES in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Charles Edward Banks, of Chicago, twenty-three volumes of manuscript material relating to Martha's Vineyard, consisting of his copies and abstracts of original papers, and his manuscript notes, in continuation of his History of the island in two volumes, published in Boston in 1911; also the "Returns containing the Number of Inhabitants in the Counties of Dukes County and Nantucket, 1790," by Joseph Thomas, Assistant Marshal, for the United States Census of that year.

From the estate of Miss Lillian Freeman Clarke, the invoice and sales book of Constant Freeman, captain of the Ship *Juno*, the Sloop *Dove*, and of the Brigantine *Betsey*, 1768–1774; also, a series of the *Massachusetts Register* from 1801–1834, with manuscript memoranda of Nathaniel and of Rev. James Freeman.

From the Institute of Jamaica, through Frank Cundall, the Council Minutes of Jamaica, December 4, 1689, on Captain Laurance Graff and other pirates.

From Charles E. Goodspeed, a letter written by George S. Hillard on July 23, 1829, on the Round Hill School, Northampton.

From John W. Farlow, a record of tolls received by Nathaniel Knight, at Gate No. 1, Salem Turnpike, on November 23, 1803.

From Thomas J. Holmes, of Cleveland, Ohio, a check list of works of the Mathers.

From Charles F. Jenkins, of Philadelphia, three manuscripts.

From William B. H. Dowse, a copy of the fourteenth edition of *The American Spelling Book*, by Noah Webster, New York, 1792, containing an engraving of Washington, pasted on the inside of the front cover as first bound, the rare impression from a "cut on Type-Metal by Alexander Anderson at seventeen years of age, when a student of medicine."

By purchase, three volumes of records kept at the Port of Portland: the returns of Nicolas Blasdell, gauger, 1804–1807; foreign clearances and exports, 1827–1829; and a list of vessels arrived at the port, 1827–1830.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Walter Eliot Thwing, a large United States flag (20 x 30), unfurled by his father, Supply Clap Thwing, on the hill, 175 Highland Street, Roxbury, on May 28, 1862, on the flag-staff then erected by him, and displayed at intervals since.

From William B. H. Dowse, a photograph of a portrait by Copley, of Relief Dowse, daughter of John and Judith (Holland) Dowse, wife of Col. Michael Gill, of Dover, England.

From Francis Henry Appleton, a photograph of Edward Newton Perkins (1820–1899, H. C. 1841), and a half-tone of Charles P. Gardiner.

From Edward Waldo Emerson, a photograph of a group of officers and men of the Second Massachusetts Cavalry, taken near their barracks at Readville in 1862, just before their going to the front.

From William Green Shillaber, a photograph from a daguerreotype, about 1850, of a group of doctors, John Cole Hayden, David Humphreys Storer, Zabdiel Boylston Adams, John Barnard Sweet Jackson, Charles Gideon Putnam, John Homans, Solomon Davis Townsend, Edward Reynolds, David Osgood, John Ware, Jacob Bigelow, and Walter Channing.

From William B. Reid, University Press, a poster designed by George F. Trenholm, of Boston, and issued by the Franklin Printing Company of Philadelphia, in commemoration of the foundation of that company in 1728.

From Mrs. Gardiner Howland Shaw, a photograph of Libby Prison.

From Charles F. Jenkins, of Philadelphia, a photograph of the original painting of Nathaniel Gorham (1738–1796), of Charlestown.

From William B. Clark, the medal of the 200th anniversary of Weston.

From Charles F. Read, the Pi Kappa Alpha medal of Dartmouth College, formerly owned by Benjamin Frederic French of Lowell.

From the New Hampshire Society of the Cincinnati, through William L. Willey, the medal of that Society, 1920.

From the Selectmen of the Town of Somerset, the World War Medal of that town.

From Peleg Coggeshall Chase, of Milton, miscellaneous coins.

By deposit, from Mrs. Mary Reynolds Bullard, a pair of knee-buckles formerly belonging to Paul Revere.

By purchase, a Medallion of the Women's Overseas Service League, designed by Mrs. Maynard Ladd.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Charles A. Coolidge accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society, and one from George Peabody Gooch, of London, England, accepting his election as a Corresponding Member.

The Vice-President announced the death of Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, a Resident Member.

Dr. NICHOLS spoke as follows:

Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, whose death on the 13th of December has removed him from active membership in this society, was a banker, a nature student and an author.

Educated in the schools of Worcester, he early entered into business life in his father's store, being taken into partnership on coming of age. Later he found more congenial work in a broker's office where he remained until he finally established the firm of Kinnicutt & DeWitt, Brokers. A story is told of him, when a clerk in the broker's office, which illustrates his business and personal character.

A young man brought to him his first savings for investment, safety being sought rather than large returns. Mr. Kinnicutt's employer was on the verge of bankruptcy, although it was not then known to the business world, and his loyalty to his employer prevented him from revealing this fact to the one who sought his services. After an instant's hesitation Mr. Kinnicutt said that he would take the check and give the matter his personal attention and a few days later, when the office had been closed, he returned the check with an apology.

Probity, justice and sympathy were the foundation stones on which his business was built, and it was because of these that success followed him through that business life.

In later years he retired from active work, devoting his time and energy to the care of the trust funds of his personal friends and of the Worcester Art Museum in particular.

In addition to these he held many directorates in the banks and other institutions of Worcester where his advice was valued.

But this was an incident in his life, for where he lived

and moved and had his being was on his beloved farm, Woonasako, in Paxton, under the shadow of Asnebumskit and on the border of the one-time river whose other border was Millstone hill or perhaps Shrewsbury when the ice-age sent down its frozen streams and filled the valley now occupied by the city of Worcester. Nor was he a gentleman farmer there, striving to grow the tallest corn, the largest crop of grass or the earliest vegetables for the neighboring market. His interest was to cover the hills with myriads of white pine, to find the earliest wild flowers as they opened and to watch, in the Sanctuary which he had established, the wild birds as they came and went in perfect safety. Here he dreamed of the legends of bird, and flower and tree which he put into exquisite prose and read to us in our clubs and societies or in the smaller circle of his intimates.

It was but a step from these dreams to a study of the Indians which led to his writings on "Indian Place Names in Worcester County" and "Indian Place Names in Plymouth County," and his latest work read before this society, on April 10th, 1920, on "The Pilgrims of Plymouth and the Indians." In this field of research Mr. Kinnicutt had established a distinct reputation, where his interest in nature was of peculiar value.

Imagination is requisite in studying a language like the Algonquin and he had it. His knowledge of nature was also of vital importance to get the Indian view point, for a rock, a tree, or grove, a shallow or ford and a meeting of waters, all these are reflected in Indian words.

From Roger Williams down to our day there have been students of this subject but there has been little unanimity of opinion. Mr. Kinnicutt was conservative, slow to decide and ready to admit the existence of doubt. What he did give out was therefore marked with the stamp of authority. He had completed his study of two counties of Massachusetts and was engaged on another related subject, when death overtook him.

In his investigations he became convinced that Sir Ferdinando Gorges played a more intimate part in the colonization of New England than he had been given credit for and had really instituted measures for bringing the Pilgrims of

the Mayflower into his territory of Massachusetts. His arguments were sound and his array of facts skilfully brought together.

As we sat in his library, when paying our last tribute to his memory, surrounded by his books and pictures, one in particular fixed my attention, for on the canvas was a war canoe driven through the mists by the sturdy arms of the race he loved and standing in the prow was their noble chieftain. The thought was borne in upon me that perhaps after all, the old legend, earlier than the Roman, was true and, as our friend was carried across to the eternal shore, he asked questions of the helmsman on these matters, answers to which can never come back to us through the mists of time.

Dr. FARLOW presented two designs and estimates by Joseph Carew in 1851 for a monument to be erected to the memory of Stephen Daye, the earliest printer in New England at Cambridge, where he established his press in 1639. Dr. Farlow was unable to find the place of Daye's burial, or any evidence that the monument was erected.

CHARLES A. COOLIDGE presented with brief remarks his "Monograph" on the early Gravestones in Boston and Vicinity bound in a large volume containing nearly two hundred photographs of gravestones which he had obtained by visits to twenty burying grounds in eastern Massachusetts, with special reference to style of lettering and design.

MR. KELLEN read a paper by GAMALIEL BRADFORD on Phineas Taylor Barnum — to be published elsewhere.

Dr. STORER read a paper on

THE FRANKLIN BOSTON SCHOOL MEDALS

As far as I am aware no coherent account has ever been published of the medals given to the children of Boston under the terms of the will of Benjamin Franklin. The few short articles upon the subject of which I have any knowledge mention only three medals, while, as I shall show, at least ten have been used.

Though doubtless the circumstances of the foundation of

these medals are well known to you I will venture to quote from Franklin's will, made in 1788, two years before his death, the following:

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instruction in literature to the free grammar schools established there, I therefor give one hundred pounds sterling to my executors, to be by them, their survivors or survivor of them, to be paid over to the managers or directors of the free schools of my native town of Boston, to be by them or those persons who shall have the superintendence & management of the said schools, put out on interest and so continue at interest for ever, which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals and given as honorary rewards annually by the directors of the said free schools belonging to the said town, in such manner as to the discretion of the selectmen of the said town shall seem most meet.

By a codicil dated 1789 he further gave £1000 to establish the so-called Franklin Fund, the interest on which was to be loaned out to young artizans. As you know this £1000 had by some wizardry of finance grown in 1891 to about $400,000 and was then largely used for the purpose of building the Franklin Union.

The selectmen naturally made haste to accept these munificent legacies, as is seen by the letter dated June 1, 1790, to this effect —

Boston, June 1, 1790

Gentlemen: — We, the inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in town meeting assembled, now transmit to you our vote of acceptance of the two bequests of your testator, the most venerable Dr. Benjamin Franklin.

The many useful designs projected by that great man, during a Long and Valuable Life, perhaps even more than his exalted Talents as a Patriot, Statesman and Philosopher, must endear his Memory to Americans; while they, in a more particular manner, reflect Honor upon its Sons of Boston, which gave him Birth and Education.

Every step to carry into full effect his benevolent plan will be cheerfully pursued by those, who he was pleased to constitute his Trustees, and rising generations will for ages Bless the name of their illustrious Friend and Benefactor.

FRANKLIN

ADJUDGED
BY THE
SCHOOL COMMITTEE
AS A
REWARD OF MERIT
TO

MERIT BY THE
SCHOOL COMMITTEE
TO

GIFT OF FRANKLIN A.D. 1788

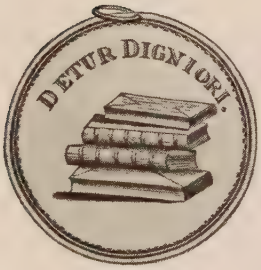
REWARD OF MERIT
SCHOOL COMMITTEE
TO

GIFT
OF
FRANKLIN
1788

AWARDED
TO

THE GIFT OF FRANKLIN
MDCCXC

AWARDED
TO


DETUR DIGNIORI.

ADJUDGED
by the
SCHOOL COMMITTEE
as a
REWARD of MERIT
TO

We thank you sir and the other gentlemen for your early communication of the contents of the will as far it relates to us.

We are with the most perfect respect, gentlemen, in the name and by order of the town,

[WILLIAM COOPER]
Town Clerk

Henry Hill, Esq. and the other gentlemen, Execrs, to the last will of the late Doctr. Franklin.

In his will Franklin said he received his "first instruction" in Boston. He might well have said his only instruction, for the few months at the original classical school, since known as the Boston Latin School, was all the schooling he ever had. In his autobiography we find —

I was put to the grammar school at 8 years of age, my father intending to devote me, as the tythe of his sons, to the service of the church. My early readiness in learning to read (which must have been very early, as I do not remember when I could not read) and the opinion of all his friends, that I should certainly make a good scholar, encouraged him in this purpose of his. My uncle Benjamin, too, approved of it and proposed to give me all his short-hand volumes of sermons, I suppose as a stock to set up with, if I would learn his character. I continued, however, at the grammar school not quite one year, though in that time I had risen gradually from the middle of the class of that year to be the head of it, and further, was removed into the next class above it, in order to go with that into the third at the end of the year.

In 1792 the School Committee appointed a sub-committee, consisting of William Tudor, Rev. John Clark and Charles Bulfinch, "to ascertain the expense of procuring medals to carry into effect the intention of the late Dr. Franklin in his donation." They reported that there was cash on hand for twenty-one medals, recommending that three be given to the Latin School, three to each of the three grammar schools and three to each of the three writing schools, the medals to be given to the best scholars. They were first distributed in January, 1793, the name of John Collins Warren heading the list.

For nearly half a century after this the medals were given in a somewhat haphazard fashion, although theoretically as a reward for success in passing an examination. Abuses crept in and considerable dissatisfaction with the method of awarding them became manifest.

City Document No. 30 of 1838 advised that they should no longer be given as prizes for passing an examination but that general merit should be taken into consideration and while no direct action was taken on this point the principle of the importance of general merit was more considered from then on.

City Document No. 20, 1847, the report of a sub-committee signed by Mr. George B. Emerson, shows evidence of decidedly strong feeling on the subject of medals and does not hesitate to say that it considers the system of awarding medals as "wholly and decidedly bad" and thinks it should be abandoned, certificates of excellence to be given instead. According to this report medals only foster jealousy; the leading scholars would lead anyway and do not need medals to spur them on; and in no case should a medal be awarded to a girl, it being quite evident to the committee that bestowing a medal upon a girl is productive of consequences far too alarming to enumerate here. In fact the sub-committee most emphatically advises that the award of the "City Medal for Females," founded in 1821, be stopped immediately. Query: was it prudery that led our forefathers to prefer the awful term "females" to "girls"? This report was not received with favor by the School Committee (City Document No. 23 of 1848). They were apparently somewhat touchy about what appeared to be an infringement of their prerogatives and did not agree with the tenor of the recommendations at all, questioning, in fact, the legality of any ordinance that would deprive pupils then in the schools of the chance of gaining a medal, the acquisition of which had been held out to them as a possibility when they entered the school and they talked learnedly about ex post facto legislation. Nor did they at all seem to fear the frightful consequences of awarding medals to girls.

Medals continued to be given in large numbers to pupils of all the schools of the city until 1867 when it was decided

to limit them to the Boston Latin School and the English High. In 1892 the Mechanics Arts High School was added and in 1914 the High School of Commerce, apparently on the authority of the Superintendent.

Up to 1851 a varying number were given annually and pretty freely. It was then decided that medals should be given on the basis of one for each sixty scholars, general scholarship and more especially good conduct to be the chief considerations in making the awards. In recent years about thirty have been given annually. In all some four thousand have been awarded since 1793.

The original legacy of Franklin, although it has now doubled in value, has not proved sufficient to defray the expenses connected with the medals and on sundry occasions the interest on hand has had to be eked out by appropriations. Just now there is a little surplus on hand but judging from a communication to the School Committee from Mr. Apollonio, its secretary, dated 1919, it will not be long before the City Fathers will have to put the School Medal Fund upon a more solid basis.

As far as I have been able to discover the Franklin medal has never been given to a girl. Leaving aside the fears expressed by Mr. Emerson in 1847 the arguments for not doing so have been that no girls' schools existed when Franklin made his bequest and that furthermore girls are provided for by the City Medal, which is specifically " for females." But the City Medal has not been given since 1866 and according to subterranean murmurs I hear that Woman is clamoring to be recognized. I think that the chances are that no change in policy will be made.

In 1858 the Association of Franklin Medal Scholars was formed, apparently in order that its four hundred members might march together in the procession in connection with the unveiling of the Franklin statute. I find no further evidence of activity on its part beyond publishing a booklet which gives cuts of three varieties of the medal and a list of scholars who had received them up to that time.

Owing to the tendency inherent in humanity to meddle with what had much better be left alone as it is the Franklin medal has undergone many vicissitudes in design. I shall

describe the series in the order in which they were issued in so far as I am able.

1 — *Ob.* THE GIFT OF / FRANKLIN Crossed pens over open book. All in fine circle of laurel.
Rx. ADJUDGED / BY THE / SCHOOL COMMITTEE / AS A / REWARD OF MERIT / TO
33mm. Silver.

We have medals of Edward Everett, 1804, of the North School, and of J. Turner, 1806, whose name does not appear in the published list of Franklin medal scholars, but whose medal is undoubtedly authentic. I do not know who was the artist of this medal. An amiable hope would suggest Paul Revere, as being the leading silversmith of the day, but I have not found any evidence to that effect. To my mind it is a great pity that subsequent School Committees did not keep to this original design which has a distinction and dignity all its own. Subsequent designs such as that in use at present are all very well, but differ in no essentials from hundreds of other school prizes; whereas this medal was quite unlike anything else and really very good.

In an old catalogue I find this given with the date 1790 struck on the reverse. I have never seen one and doubt greatly as to its existence, and imagine that the date was merely the engraved date of its award.

2 — *Ob.* The Gift of/FRANKLIN In field crossed pens over an open book. All engraved.
Rx. Adjudged/by/the School Committee/as A REWARD OF MERIT/to
All engraved. 38 mm. Silver.

In 1796 either there was no cash on hand or no medals could be procured, for the School Committee gave an engraved medal, much resembling the regular medal but having longer quill pens and the book lower in the field. These engraved medals can have been used for only a short time as I have seen specimens of the regular medals for most of the years running from 1793 to 1820. An example of this extremely

rare engraved medal is at the Bostonian Society, given to Thomas Powers.

3 — *Ob.* DETUR DIGNIORI Below, a pile of four books.
Rx. ADJUDGED/BY THE/SCHOOL COMMITTEE/AS A /REWARD OF MERIT/To
33mm. Silver.

About 1809 this medal was given at the Boston Latin School and is generally classed among the Franklin medals, though having no reference to him upon it, because it was paid for out of the Franklin bequest. It was given for only a few years. We have no specimen of it and greatly desire one.

4 — *Ob.* GIFT OF FRANKLIN A.D. 1788. Bust to left. Signed WRIGHT & BALE N. Y.
Rx. REWARD OF/MERIT BY THE/SCHOOL COMMITTEE TO/
33mm. Silver.

We have the medal of Thomas M. Brewer, 1831, of the Boston Latin School. Wright & Bale were a very reputable firm of die cutters who executed among others certain medals of Washington.

5 — As No 4 but signed in exergue of reverse STIMPSON Planchets vary in size. 32 mm. Silver.

We have medals of L. Lawrence, 1837, of the Boylston School and of N. W. Knowlton, 1842, of the Wells School. In an old catalogue I find this medal given as not signed on the obverse — probably an error in description.

6 — *Ob.* GIFT OF FRANKLIN A.D. 1788. Bust to left. Signed WRIGHT & BALE N. Y.
Rx. REWARD OF MERIT / BY THE in scroll / SCHOOL COMMITTEE / TO
33mm. Silver.

Though similar in some respects it differs greatly from No. 4. We have the medal of G. W. Merritt, 1846, of the Eliot School.

7 — *Ob.* Gift of/Franklin/*A.D.* 1788 engraved.
Rx. Awarded/to/J.Leighton/1848 engraved.
Silver.

This was called the "Sub-committee medal." For a few years about 1848, apparently from motives of economy, no regular Franklin medals were issued and in their stead the School Committee used a simple, and cheaper, silver planchet with an engraved inscription. An old description of this medal gives somewhat different wording —

Ob. GIFT OF FRANKLIN/*A.D.* 1788 engraved.
Rx. Awarded/By the School Committee/to engraved.

I have not seen such a medal.

I have, however, seen on the medal of F. W. Tileston, 1850, the following lettering —

Ob. GIFT OF/FRANKLIN
Rx. AWARDED TO All engraved.

8 — *Ob.* GIFT/scroll — OF — scroll/FRANKLIN/scroll/1788
Rx. AWARDED/TO
33mm. Silver.

We have the medal of E. Savage, 1851, of the Dwight School. I cannot say why the School Committee should have used this supremely ugly design, which has not even the bust of Franklin.

9 — *Ob.* THE GIFT OF FRANKLIN /rosette MDCCXC rosette.
Bust to left, On arm MITCHELL.
Rx. On ribbon AWARDED TO
In exergue a floral ornament over F. N. MITCHELL. SC.
34mm. Silver.

In 1851 the School Committee had, at the expense of $100, a new die prepared by Francis N. Mitchell, the die cutter of this city, and this is essentially the design that is in use today. About 1881 Mr. Mitchell changed the reverse slightly by omitting his signature, and this would be No. 10 of my list. I have seen four or five other descriptions of Franklin medals, but am quite sure that in each case the description was faulty and that, had I a chance to see the medals, it would appear that they were some one of the ten varieties that I have enumerated.

Franklin medals are sometimes seen in copper. We have one. I do not think they were ever awarded except in silver. Franklin's will specifies that they shall be of silver. I have never seen one in copper with a recipient's name upon it, and I suspect that as the dies are stored at the United States Mint that institution has succumbed occasionally to the temptation to strike off copies in base metal for sale to collectors, as it has often done in other cases, without too scrupulous inquiry as to the wishes of the owner of the die.

While I am speaking of medals may I be allowed to say a word about a rather interesting numismatic discovery. It has long been known that Washington instituted the Order of the Purple Heart. On August 7th, 1782, he issued an order from his headquarters at Newburgh which read as follows:

> The General, ever desirous to cherish a virtuous ambition in his soldiers, as well as to foster and encourage every species of miiltary merit, directs that, whenever any signally meritorious action is performed, the author of it shall be permitted to wear on his facings, over his left breast, the figure of a heart in purple cloth or silk, edged with narrow lace or binding. Not only instances of unusual gallantry, but also of extraordinary fidelity, and essential service in any way, shall meet with a due reward. Before this favor can be conferred on any man, the particular fact, or facts, on which it is to be granted, must be set forth to the Commander-in-Chief, accompanied with certificates from the Commanding Officers of the Regiment or Brigade to which the candidate for reward belonged, or other incontestible proof; and upon granting it, the name and regiment of the person, are to be enrolled in the Book of Merit, which will be kept at the Orderly Office.

Men who have merited this distinction are to be suffered to pass all guards and sentinels which officers are permitted to do. The road to glory in a patriot army and a free country, is thus opened to all. This order is also to have retrospect to the earliest stages of the war, and to be considered as a permanent one.

As far as known this was the first order founded anywhere open to enlisted men and also the first order for enlisted men carrying with it privileges accorded to officers.

As early as 1650 England gave medals to officers and men alike who were engaged in the Battle of Dunbar, but in this case, and in all subsequent cases until Washington founded the order of the Purple Heart, the decoration was given indiscriminately to all engaged and not for especially meritorious service.

The Book of Merit referred to has disappeared and there is absolutely no evidence as to upon how many soldiers this decoration was conferred nor when its issue ceased. Furthermore it has always been supposed that there was no specimen of the decoration in existence — a matter not to be wondered at considering the ephemeral character of the badge-cloth or silk. Recently, however, Mr. C. S. Gifford, an enthusiastic numismatist of this city, has discovered a Continental uniform somewhere in Vermont, bearing upon it the long-lost insignia of the Order of the Purple Heart. It occurred to Mr. Gifford that it might be a matter of considerable interest, sentimental at least, were this forgotten order to be revived, to be regarded as something on a par with the Victoria Cross. He has had considerable correspondence on the subject with the authorities in Washington, where, I understand, the idea is being considered with a certain amount of favor.[1]

[1] See John C. Fitzpatrick in *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, April, 1922.

Edward Hooker Gilbert

MEMOIR

OF

EDWARD HOOKER GILBERT

By CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON

Colonel Edward Hooker Gilbert, prominent as a manufacturer of woollen and worsted goods, as well as a patron of learning, was born at Ware, Mass., 7 December, 1859, the son of George Henry and Elizabeth Jane (Hooker) Gilbert. He attended the public schools in Ware, and fitted for college at Greylock Institute and Phillips Exeter, entering the class of 1881 at Yale. He was one of two Gilberts in the class, and was known as " Gilly." His attractive personality made him universally liked. After graduation he at once identified himself with the George H. Gilbert Manufacturing Company, and two years later became Vice-President of the Company. He interested himself also in politics, first as a selectman, and then as a member of Governor George D. Robinson's staff in 1884–1887. He was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, a good disciplinarian, and a firm believer in law and order.

Colonel Gilbert was a quiet, unassuming gentleman, and in the later years of his life ill health kept him from active pursuits. But he was naturally of a sociable disposition. At Yale he belonged to one of the leading societies, Wolf's Head, and later became a member of the Elizabethan Club. He was also a member of the Somerset Club in Boston. He became a member of the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1900, and of our Society in the same month two years later. He represented our Society at the Greenfield celebration in 1903, and wrote a sketch of that difficult sub-

ject of appraisal, Governor Chamberlain of South Carolina, which appeared in our Proceedings for 1907. He also was the author of a work on the Early Grants of the Town of Ware.

Colonel Gilbert was abroad in 1887, and on February 16 married in London at St. George's, Hanover Square, Miss Geraldine Maud Ruthven Henry, daughter of Mitchell and Margaret (Vaughan) Henry of Galway, Ireland. Mrs. Gilbert visited her parents in the summer of 1892, and while driving was killed, 21 September, 1892, in an accident near Kylemore Castle, County Galway, the home of the Henrys. Her husband's health was permanently injured by the shock of her death, and he gradually gave up his participation in out door activities, in hunting, riding and athletic sports. He never was very fond of the rougher aspects of camp life, but like many another " camper out " he enjoyed recounting during long winter evenings the adventures of his summer expeditions.

Gilbert was always a great reader and was particularly well informed on historical matters. He was a student and lover of Shakespeare. Fortunately he was able to read until the very day he died, and it was a great source of interest to him and a great comfort, for he found it increasingly difficult to move about. During twenty-four years he was almost completely bedridden, after breaking his hip. The last fifteen years of his life were made happy by the collection of fine editions of the books in which he was interested, and he assembled many volumes of great value. He died 4 October, 1921, in Ware. The funeral services were conducted by the rector of Trinity Church, and the pall bearers were his business associates and friends.

Two children, Geraldine Henry Gilbert and Mitchell Henry Gilbert, died in infancy; but a daughter, Elizabeth Vaughan Gilbert, who married George Herbert Timmins, Esq., in 1913, survives Colonel and Mrs. Gilbert, and lives in Ware.

FEBRUARY MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant at three o'clock, P.M., the first Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Vice-President announced the death of Viscount Bryce, who stood at the head of the Society's list of Honorary Members, and called on Dr. Eliot.

Mr. ELIOT said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I can only speak on this occasion as an old and intimate friend of James Bryce, the friendliest man I have ever met in this world. At the start, his education interested me very much, with its wonderfully varied character, which he brought out very clearly in talking about it himself in the President's house at Harvard. This was almost my first introduction to his remarkable powers of description. His formal education was almost completely from books, in languages ancient and modern, and in history. That description covers both what we should call his secondary education and his college education; but he described with equal clearness and vigor another entirely distinct part of his education, which he received from an uncle and his father, both of whom were in the habit of taking the boy to walk in country places, where natural scenes came into view, like the Scottish moors and lakes, and the gardens, parks, and woods of the neighborhood. On these delightful walks he learned to see the minute and the broadest things in nature — the minute, like the small flowers, the mosses, the lichens, the things which required close observation, and also the large things in the landscape, the hills, the valleys, the geologic strata and the rending and tilting of the strata, and the play of the gigantic forces which have made parts of the earth's surface habitable by man, and responsive to his thirst for beauty, grace, and splendor. To all

those things his attention was directed by his uncle and his father; and these delights he pursued for years before he entered on the real work of his life, and ever after. I have never known anybody who had so complete an education, so complete a training in such different fields. His linguistic powers were large, and his memory for languages was most remarkable; and yet his memory for botanical things and for places and for geologic and geographic phenomena was equally strong.

He habitually exhibited the strongest delight in the use of his observing powers that I have ever seen in a human being — an incessant delight in the exercise of these powers. I remember the first walk we took together on the Island of Mount Desert. He had come to my house, and we started to walk up my wood road, which passes through such woods as Mount Desert was then containing. The immediate area had been burnt over about forty years before, and the growth was comparatively young but still interesting. Bryce was noticing everything on the way, every kind of tree, and bush, and fern. Suddenly he stopped short at catching sight of a thrifty mat of the fragrant plant called Linnaea or Twin-flower, which has a beautiful leafage and a delightful little bell-shaped flower; and the plant was in flower. He could not leave it; it gave him such intense pleasure to see that lowly plant, a sub-arctic plant which he had but rarely seen.

This very last summer we went out together to an island that lies about nine miles off the Mount Desert shore, to the southward. He asked me if I would take him out there; because in all his previous visits to Mount Desert he had never succeeded in getting to that outer island, called the Outer Duck. He must see it, and the views thence. So we went together, on a calm, sunny, lovely day. I was unable to accompany him in his walk over the Outer Duck; so he went alone, and came back with a glowing report of the admirable condition of the woods on that rough and desolate island. They were scanty, but, as he said, in fine condition, though wind-blown. After luncheon, during which he talked eagerly of what he had seen and was seeing on that island, we took the boat for home. We faced the whole range of the Mount Desert hills. There they stood, right before us, in

the whole length of the range, sometimes called seven mountains and sometimes eight; and it is just as hard to say which now, as it was when Champlain in 1603 put into his log his cautious description of the range. But Bryce was wholly absorbed in this contemplation, and talked much about the scene. Why was he so delighted? Because he could see the whole range right before him without moving his head either to the right or to the left. The whole range was pictured. He had seen more striking views in many parts of the world, but that one he said delighted him more than any view he could then recall. He had been to the Grand Canyon, and in the Yosemite, and in sight of many volcanoes and volcanic structures the world over; but there was this range of blue hills, all of primitive rock and low comparatively, wooded in part but also abounding in rocky precipices and abrupt cliffs, and lying in a delicious atmosphere with the quiet sea as foreground. He found it the most delightful view that he had ever seen. And this was only last summer, at the end of many, many years of travel all over the world. I have never seen any person who felt and showed such delight in the observation of nature in all its scales and all its ranges, from the most minute to the grandest.

He entered upon the work of his life very young, compared with other people who have proved to be great authors. His first book, however, showed the tendencies of his mind, his modes of thought, and his interest in the new kind of observation to which he was to devote his working years. It is an absolutely different field from that of nature — this field in which Bryce spent sixty years of his active life. It was the field of observation of the human being, and of the institutions which the immense series of human beings have created. This of course is a psychological field. Today many people call it a psychiatric field. Human beings differ infinitely. No two human beings are alike, and every human being is a complex of good and bad, of right motives and wrong, of right tendencies in conduct and behavior and wrong tendencies. The discovery of the mental habits and moral nature of a human being is a process of the most difficult sort, and utterly different from the discovery of the nature and habits of a little plant or of a high mountain.

To this most difficult of all fields of observation Bryce devoted his whole working time. In that field he early manifested certain strong habits of mind, or tendencies in daily action. He had a curious penetration in the observation and study of the single human being. He had a remarkable facility in getting into contact with the human being that he wished to study. I never saw his match in that respect. He could get into contact with a man toward whom he experienced an instinctive repulsion. He would set aside that repulsion, and get into mental and moral contact with him. And so in the study of institutions, the results of many centuries of the working of these complex human beings on nature, on each other, and on the universe, he saw with marvellous clearness the tendencies of social and governmental institutions, and the results of long-lived institutions, no matter how diverse in character — autocratic, democratic, industrial, philosophical, or religious. He had an extraordinary facility in discerning the operations of the human mind on these institutions generation after generation, and the results of those operations.

In this prolonged study, covering more than sixty years of his life, he early arrived at some general views. For instance, he had an aversion to political action directed by abstract principles, or founded on abstract considerations. He believed abstract notions to be unsound foundations for political action. He thought that the only means of making sure progress in free government, for example, was practice in local government and in party government. That practice — he thought — must have developed skill in public discussion — always in discussion first — but discussion resulting in compromise. That was the way he thought British freedom had been brought about and given a large place in the world, through discussion and conflict followed by compromise. He hardly believed that political progress was possible except in that way. He distrusted French democracy, for example; because it seemed to him founded on certain philosophical and rhetorical abstract considerations and not on discussion resulting in compromise. He thought that strenuous reformers were often much too logical. He believed that a democracy needed leadership, must have leadership, could not

get on without it; and one of the great disappointments of his life was that in recent years he could not discover in any country the necessary leaders for democratic progress.

He also believed that social progress was more dependent than most people supposed on the predominance of sound racial habits in a given community, that the family was the real root not only of political happiness or content but also of industrial content. He therefore looked with alarm on what seemed to him the decline of the family in some of the freest nations of the earth. He believed that the continuity and prosperity of the family were absolutely indispensable to the progress of any race; and it was a great grief to him to see what he thought was the shrinkage of the family in Great Britain and in the United States, as social power, and as root of everything that could properly be called civilization.

He had, as you all know, a great deal of caution in expressing his own opinions and those of other people. You will find on nearly every page of his *Modern Democracies* such phrases as " Some say," " People say," "It is said." If he had been writing in French he would have used often the phrase " on dit." He was chary of flat statements, or unquestioning affirmations. That habit grew upon him in his later writings; but it was founded, I think, upon fundamental doubts which had arisen in his mind concerning the future progress of mankind, particularly of certain races of mankind, and doubts as to the real benefit to mankind of certain happenings in the Great War which most of us thought were sure gains.

I remember during the last week he spent with me that I asked him one day, " Don't you think that there are solid advantages, permanent gains for mankind in the destruction of the German Empire, the Austrian Empire, the Russian Czardom, and the Turkish Empire? Don't you think there are lasting benefits to mankind from these destructions? " His reply was, " Eliot, do you feel sure that the governments which are going to replace these empires gone will be better for those several nations than the governments destroyed? Do you feel sure that those peoples are going to be better off because those autocratic governments have gone? They have gone." I told him I did, but he was not so convinced. He felt doubt as to the outcome of those desirable destructions.

It was a grief to everybody that loved him that his happiness in his last years was diminished by these grave doubts. Every now and then in friendly intercourse he would triumph over them. I saw him do that several times in the last week which I had the happiness of spending with him. He would turn in his talk towards certain fundamental instincts which made part of him, and rejoice in them. He had on the last day I spent with him a recurrence of faith in what he called religion. I should not have been able to define exactly what he meant by religion. It was not the common kind. It was not what we call the Christian religion in its institutional or dogmatic forms; but there it was. He had a lively hope for the future happiness of humanity, of mankind all over the world, which was founded on that religious instinct.

Mr. Lowell then spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, one who has been watching an intellectual sun feels lonely when it sets. Lord Bryce was a luminary, and a luminary of the first class. He began exceedingly young, and his day was a very long one.

On leaving school at Glasgow, he went to the University of Glasgow and then to Trinity College, Oxford. There he graduated in 1862, taking a first in classics and in a later term of the same year a first in history. Those two things, his classics and his history, were interwoven and formed the texture of his intellectual life. His first publication had already been made, in the year 1859. It was *The Flora of the Isle of Arran.* He never wrote, so far as I know, upon botany later, but his interest in the subject and his strong love of nature endured.

In the year 1862 also he wrote what has continued to be among the great books of his generation, his Arnold prize essay on *The Holy Roman Empire.* Later it was expanded and republished in many editions. I have always been inclined to think it the greatest book he ever wrote. Great as some of the others, and notably *The American Commonwealth,* are, I have always felt that his *Holy Roman Empire* was probably the most extraordinary of all. It was a great conception, greatly treated.

After leaving Oxford he went to a German university, and

then entered the bar, practising law for fifteen years. In 1870 he became Regius Professor of Law at Oxford, and that chair he retained until 1893. He was not a great barrister, that was not what interested him, but he was essentially a jurist, and a jurist he continued to be, writing essays on jurisprudence throughout his whole career.

Another striking side of his life was brought out not far from the same time. In 1876 he scaled Mount Ararat, I believe the first man since Noah that ever reached the top; and he remained an Alpine climber all his days. Anyone who has ever walked up mountains with him knows well the delight he took in them, how he understood them, and loved them as much as he did the plants which grew on their sides. For many years, indeed, he was president of the Alpine Club.

Then he turned his gaze towards America, coming first in the 70's, and returning frequently to study the American commonwealth. Studying it why? Because he loved America? Not primarily; but because in it, like De Tocqueville, he saw a laboratory in which he could examine the latest developments and the latest results of the movements which he had begun to study in history. I shall come back to this, for it is one of the most impressive things in his whole intellectual atmosphere.

When I first saw him, in the year 1881, he was here inquiring into American institutions, and there was hardly a second of his day when he was not asking questions, following up the answers, and noting for future use what he learned. He was mixing with every kind of man, and getting every kind of impression. Later he said that he never wrote *The American Commonwealth* at all, that it was written for him by the people with whom he talked, whose ideas he simply jotted down. Of course that is not true. He had the capacity of insight, of weighing what he heard, of combining divergent impressions into a consistent whole, and thus of seeing things as they are. He finished his *American Commonwealth,* and turned his attention to other democratic countries. It is characteristic that although he naturally knew England more intimately than any other nation he never wrote a treatise upon its institutions fearing the lack of detachment of one too closely connected with its public life.

He was extremely fond of travel, and he travelled to see men and nature, both of which he enjoyed keenly. In both his interest extended from one extreme to the other. He loved the sea, the mountain and the barren plain. He loved solitude, and he loved men. I remember his saying on one occasion, speaking of the sage-brush covered plains in the Rockies, that when he had first crossed them, looking from the rear platform of a train, he wanted to get off and sit down alone among the sage bushes. One of the things that I suspect he loved about the mountains was the sense of solitude. At the same time he was always happy in the crowded marts of men. He visited South America, South Africa, Australia, always noting the landscape, always at the same time noting the men and mixing with men.

Finally, at the end of his life, he summed up what he had to say in his *Modern Democracies*. He wrote, therefore, at the age of twenty-four, a book which is not only notable, but always will be notable while history is read, one of the great books of his generation. He finished another book, notable throughout the world, at the age of eighty-three, a space of almost sixty years.

What were the marked characteristics of his thought? They were extraordinary in many directions. In the first place, he had an absolutely lucid mind. Although by no means a man without strong feelings, strong aspirations, strong political party attachments, a man who liked and admired one man, and disapproved of another, a man whose sympathies were eager in favor of one movement and against another, he nevertheless in recording what he saw in any country recorded it as if his feelings were absolutely colorless. That is one of the striking contrasts which makes his books what they are. Without the strong enthusiasms and feelings his books would have been mere photographs; but they were not photographs. They were the expression of the working of his own powerful brain over the things which he saw and assimilated. At the same time he did not allow any predispositions of his to color the facts. That is one of the things that strikes one everywhere in his writings. Although the impressions he received might be contrary to those that he would like to receive, although the impressions differed

from his ideas of what men should be and what they naturally would be, he put them down as he saw them and did not even unconsciously color the description.

Another thing which to me is very unusual about him was the fact that to him, unlike most men, the study of man was one continuous study. I mean that from the time he read Plato and Aristotle to the time he examined the government of Australia it was one human nature that he was considering. To him the ancient classics were not one thing and modern studies another. They were all part of one unbroken line of thought and growth. Aristotle and Plato were to him merely the elder students of the same thing that he was studying now, that is, human nature manifested in its political forms.

A third thing which struck me very much about him was the number of channels by which information flowed in to him. It was said of Judge Story that he had more channels through which information came to him than other men. That was true also of Lord Bryce. He got much by reading, by reading books in many languages and all ages. He got no less by personal observation, by the use of his senses, by keeping his eyes open and seeing. He got a vast amount by conversation. He was the readiest talker and also the readiest listener that I ever met. He gave his impressions freely to anyone who asked for them, he discussed freely with everybody; but he also listened, and listened intently, and he extracted from everyone who came near him all the information to be gained. Lucid in his mind, capable of acquiring information from every source, capable of expressing it with perfect clearness, capable of suppressing the inclinations that would tend to color it, he produced works which, so long as men read, will portray to them the existing conditions of politics in the age in which he lived better than any other books that have been written in our day.

Mr. Eliot has referred to a sadness that suffused the later part of his life. Yes, that was true. He suffered the penalty which every man who has enthusiasm and faith in his youth feels at the disappointment that all he had hoped for has not come to pass; and towards the end of his life came the war which put the hands of the clock backwards, as he recognized, and he was saddened by its consequences. He had hoped

for better times, but he realized in his last years that the things that he had hoped for would not come within his own day. He was a man of too sound convictions, of too profound study, too deep in his thought, to think they never would come, but he felt that he should never live to see them.

We have left out of sight entirely one side of his life, that is his political career. Most of us here in America think of Lord Bryce as a writer, and it is right that we should think of him so. Writing is probably the most enduring thing that he did. Nevertheless, we must remember that his life was an active one in politics, and that what he did in public affairs would alone have consumed the whole time of an ordinary man. He went into Parliament, in the year 1880. He became Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1886, and he held several offices in the Cabinet. In the administration of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, he was Chief Secretary for Ireland. At one time he was at the head of the Board of Trade, and he wrote the great report on secondary education in England.

As Americans we can never forget that he was an Ambassador to this country, although his own compatriots never appreciated the services he rendered here. What he did was not mainly diplomatic. Ambassadors do little diplomacy in these later times. That is done over the cable from the State Department of one government to the Foreign Office of another. But he carried out in this country what our diplomats have done on the other side. He was the only British Ambassador who understood that the object of a diplomat is less to negotiate with governments than to charm a people, and he did it. Every American, whether he ever saw Lord Bryce or not, feels as if somehow or other he was a personal friend, and that is due not to his learning, but to his geniality, to the fact that he had an affection for everybody with whom he came into contact. For those who had the privilege of knowing him well that affection was very deep and very true. He loved men with a deep earnestness, and I suppose it is because he loved men that he loved to study the institutions of men.

To us it is a pleasure to think that he died in full possession of his powers; and that, as my friend Sir Horace Plunkett

has said, he has left us the greater part of his wisdom in the books that he wrote. I believe it was Sir George Trevelyan who remarked of him that the gods loved Lord Bryce, for those whom they love die young, and whenever he might come to die, he would die young. One cannot look back over his life without a deep sense of gratitude, without being thankful for a man who could devote himself to the interests of human life, and point out in our politics and in the politics of the world the dangers and the perils, and the path that we must tread. This is the tribute that every friend would pay to Lord Bryce.

Mr. RHODES read the following tribute:

A rustic said at Webster's funeral, "Daniel Webster, the world without you will seem lonesome." So thinks the historic world of the death of James Bryce. Without indulging in superlatives, we may say he was a great historian. When our former President Mr. Adams, to whom we owe so much, was reviewing our list in 1901 he asked: "What American would question the propriety of putting the name of Right Hon. James Bryce on any roll literary or historical?" Bryce was made a corresponding member in 1882, before the publication of the *American Commonwealth,* and an honorary member in 1896; at his death he stood at the head of the honorary roll — the most honored of all.

His first historical work, the *Holy Roman Empire,* was published in 1864 and this made his reputation as an historian. It would have been a great work for any man — but given to the world as it was at the age of twenty-six it was simply amazing! As one turns over its pages now and refers to one's individual notes one cannot but wonder at the immense knowledge, the correct divinations, the power of generalization and the correctness of inferences therein displayed. It is a scholar's book evidencing a knowledge of many languages and showing vast reading. How could a young man have compassed so much! He was no recluse, being what is known in London as a "social success." One is not surprised to know that the Oxford coveted degree of D. C. L. was conferred upon him when he was thirty-two.

Cannot we speak of a beginning thus as a brilliant career? Is he regarded as a brilliant writer in England; and if he is not and I am right in this supposition, is it not because he paid no attention to literary style? "I have never made any study of style," he wrote, "or read any writer with a view to the formation or polishing of style. Sometimes it has occurred to me that a man might much improve himself by this: but I have never had leisure to study the masters of style or in writing to think of anything except how most clearly to state what one had to say."

I must confess that I consider the *Holy Roman Empire* pretty close to if not quite a literary masterpiece. Without apparent effort the author has told the events of over 1500 years in 571 pages. As Buffon said, the style is the man himself and in this book Bryce has been so full of his subject, one event suggesting another, that he unconsciously has written a model of condensation which, so far as can be seen, may long be studied with profit.

Twenty-four years were to pass before he published another work — the *American Commonwealth*. The story goes that he and Albert V. Dicey visited the United States for the first time in 1870; as they were returning home Bryce proposed to Dicey that they should jointly write a book on the United States. After reflection Dicey decided not to join in the enterprise and therefore the *American Commonwealth* appeared under the name of Bryce — the one single book on the United States that one can say equals the famous work of De Tocqueville. The *American Commonwealth* differs in one respect widely from the *Holy Roman Empire,* in that it is not made up from books and manuscripts. Mr. Bryce told me a number of years ago that five-sixths of the materials of his *American Commonwealth* were made up of observations, impressions and conversations; one-sixth only from printed material. While this would be nothing extraordinary in a book of travels, which is necessarily written from such data, it seems to me rare in a political and sociological treatise such as is the *American Commonwealth*. Bryce's book, like the works of Herodotus and Tacitus, was largely written from data that he obtained from the lips of living men. There is a freshness in such original sources which

makes itself felt on the printed page; but a good book written from such data is exceptional as few men have the time, the opportunity and knack for collecting such materials and then, after the materials are obtained, to make a book out of observations, impressions and conversations, is difficult indeed.

One cannot help thinking that Bryce is a writing Lord Acton; that in his various knowledge he may be compared with that learned man, who was said to read a book a day. Bryce did not read a book a day but he absorbed what was equivalent to that much knowledge and he gave it to the world. But he loved and appreciated Acton, listening to him in his library at Cannes when Acton told like a man inspired, how the history of Liberty might be written, and how it might be made the central thread of all history.

Bryce was Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford for twenty-three years. The guild knew him for one of their own. When he spoke to a company composed largely of professors at a dinner of the American Historical Association in New York, they knew they heard from a man who had shared their hopes and fears and who, though risen to great celebrity, could never forget and never wanted to forget that he was one of them. Bryce published many books and many pamphlets. He was a fertile writer. He was full of ideas. Of whom can it better be said that "reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man"?

His last work, *Modern Democracies,* may be fitly considered alongside of the *American Commonwealth.* The *American Commonwealth* is full of optimism. Democracy in the United States has been a great success. It has its faults and failures, but its merits overtop them all. But there is a sombre hue about *Modern Democracies.* At first the pessimism in it was overlooked by the English reviewers, as they could not be convinced that Bryce was other than an optimist. But the best that he can say of democracy is written at the end: "However grave the indictment that may be brought against democracy its friends can answer, 'What better alternative do you offer?' . . . So may it be said that Democracy will never perish till after Hope has expired."

Bryce had a warm heart and loved to acknowledge aid from

his friends. Thus when Bryce was a great man, he wrote in 1904, to that edition of the *Holy Roman Empire*: "Did custom permit the dedication to anyone of a book long before the public, I should have dedicated the pages that follow to Mr. Goldwin Smith, now the honored patriarch of English historians," and he might have added an honorary member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A year earlier an inscription of *Studies in Contemporary Biography* reads, "To Charles William Eliot, President of Harvard University. In commemoration of a long and valued friendship." To *Modern Democracies*, "To His Friend and Fellow Worker A. Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard University. To whom Englishmen are indebted for an admirably lucid and exact description of their Government in its theory and practice."

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Miss Elizabeth H. Bartol, a collection of papers containing account books and correspondence of Ebenezer William Sage, a merchant of Middletown, Conn., New York, Boston and Matanzas from 1806 to 1834; also gave an account book kept in Boston from 1732 to 1771, by Dr. John Clark and by his son Dr. William Clark; and Dr. Bartol's record of deaths, 1837 to 1882, and his record of preachings, 1838 to 1871.

From Mrs. S. Parkman Blake, a number of papers of Edward Blake, Jr., a merchant of Boston, 1804 to 1826.

From William C. Williams, of Dedham, a letter of Edward Tyler to the Boston Clearing House, Jan. 13, 1865.

From Charles E. Goodspeed, letters relating to the Round Hill School, Northampton, from James D'W. Perry, a student, August 30, 1827, and from Benjamin Peirce, Jr., (H. C. 1829), an instructor, November 22, 1829.

From Miss Emma Rodman, a letter from Julia Ward Howe to Mrs. Samuel Rodman, Newport, August 9, 1880, and some verses by her on John Lothrop Motley.

From Lawrence Walter Jenkins, of Salem, an order from the Governor's Troop of Horse Guards, to appear at training in Boston, September 10, 1764.

From Frederic Amory, some papers of James S. Amory, 1851–1864.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Mrs. Wilhelmy, through Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, the key of the Court House at Appomattox, Virginia, where Lee surrendered to Grant on April 9, 1865.

From Mrs. Elizabeth Story Gray, a pair of gold spectacles worn by Judge Joseph Story (1779–1845) and afterwards by his brother Franklin Howard Story (1795–1871).

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, the bronze medal of Alsace, by G. Prudhomme, 1919; and the medal of Verdun, by S. E. Vernier, 1917.

From the Boston Surgical Society, through Dr. Walter C. Howe, Secretary, a bronze replica of the Henry Jacob Bigelow gold medal, awarded from time to time by that Society for contributions to the advancement of surgery. The award of this medal in gold is made under a trust fund established in 1915, in memory of his father by Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow.

General Morris Schaff, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident-Member of the Society.

The Rev. HENRY B. WASHBURN read a paper on "John Wesley and his Journals."

By the courtesy of Mr. James Truslow Adams we print the following letters:

LONDON MERCHANTS ON THE STAMP ACT REPEAL [1]

LONDON February 28th 1766

GENTLEMEN, — After much Anxiety, we have at length the pleasure to acquaint you that a Bill is now in the House of Commons for repealing the Stamp Act. it was read the Second time yesterday. We also look forward to some beneficial Regulations and Extensions of the Trade of America; which we hope may be obtained in the Course of this Session of Parliament; during which the most serious Attention and Application shall take place on our part to every point which may tend to the General Good.

Permit us now Gentlemen to lay before you, our Sentiments on the present state of Affairs, to submit them to your good Judgment, and to request, that, so far as they agree with it, you will be pleased to inculcate the propriety of the Conduct we recommend.

[1] The originals are in the Library of Congress and Mr. Adams presented photostat copies to the Society.

It had been a constant Argument against the Repeal, that in case it should take place, the Parliamentary Vote of Right will be waste paper, and that the Colonies will understand very well, that what is pretended to be adopted, on mere Commercial Principle of Expedience, is really yielded thro' fear; and amounts to a tacit but effectual Surrender of its right or at least a tacit Compact that it will never use it.

In this line of Argument every debate and every Question from Opposition has run, — how material, how necessary therefore is it, that the event should not support, or even seem to support those Arguments.

The Event will justify those Arguments in the strongest manner, if the Colonies should triumph on the Repeal, and affect to seize the yielding of Parliament, as a point gain'd over Parliamentary Authority. The Opposition (from whom the Colonies have suffered so much) would then throw in the Teeth of our Friends — *see your Work — it is as we said — it is but too well prov'd what use the Colonies make of your Weak and timid Measures.*

On the Contrary, if Duty, Submission, and Gratitude, be the returns made by the Colonies, then, our Friends may exult, they may say, *we are in the Right, is it not as we said? see the Colonies regained to this Country by our Moderation, regained with their Loyalty, their Affections and their Trade.*

It is needless to say how extremely preferable the latter supposition is to the first, how much more desirable for this Country and for the Colonies.

You must be sensible what Friends the Colonies have had in the present Ministry, and are doubtless informed what pains they have taken to serve them. It is Justice likewise to them; to inform you that they have had great difficulties to encounter in the Cause the principal of which were unhappily thrown in by the Colonies themselves, we mean the intemperate proceedings of various Ranks of People on your side of the Water; and the difficulties of the Repeal would have been much less; if they had not by their violence in Word and Action, awakened the Honour of Parliament; and thereby involved every Friend of the Repeal in the Imputation of betraying the Dignity of Parliament. This is so true, that the Act could certainly not have been repealed, had not Men's Minds been in some measure satisfied with the Declaration of Right. If therefore, you would make the proper returns to your Country, if you have a Mind to do Credit to your Friends and strengthen the hands of your Advocates; hasten, we beseech you to express filial Duty, and Gratitude to your Parent

Country. Then will those who have been (and while they have the power we doubt not will be) your Friends; plume themselves on the restoration of Peace to the Colonies, Union, Trade and reciprocal Advantages to them and to us. But if violent measures are Continued and Triumphs on the point gain'd, If it is talked of as a Victory, If it is said the Parliament have yielded up the Right, then indeed your Enemies here will have a Complete Triumph. Your Friends must certainly lose all power to serve you. Your Tax Masters probably be restored and such a train of ill Consequences follow as are easier for you to imagine than for us to describe — at least such measures on your side will greatly tend to produce these Effects. We have no doubt that you will Adopt the Contrary Conduct, and inculcate it to the utmost of your Influence, to which we sincerely wish the most extensive regard may be paid, and that uninterrupted mutual Affection may Continue between Great Britain and her Colonies to the latest Ages. We are with unfeigned regard, Gentlemen, Your Affectionate Friends and Humble Servants,

George Hayley	Barlow Trecothick
Daniel Vialars	Capel Hanbury
Nich's Ray	David Barclay Jun'r
John Strettell	Gilbert Franklyn
John Clark	Wm. Greenwood
John Buchanan	Dan'l Mildred
John Stewart	Wm. Neate
Anth'y Merry	Thos. Lane
Jon'a Barnard	T^s^. Harris
Chris'r Chambers	Edward Bridgen
Chas. Crokatt	Rich'd Neave
Samuel Hannay	Gilb't Harrison
Edw'd Athawes	Brook Watson
	Gregory Olive
	Dennis De Berdt
	Chas. Ogilvie.

Per Duke of Cumberland
North American Packet

London 18th March 1766

Gentlemen, — We have now the Satisfaction of informing you by Capt. Wray sent by us express in the Ship *Dispatch,* that the Bill for repealing the Stamp Act received the Royal Assent this day.

To enumerate the Difficulties which we have had in this Affair, would be a disagreeable Task to us; as it might seem calculated to enhance our own Merit, at the Expence of Characters whom we respect for their Situation, however they may have been induced to act a part we could not Approve, or thoroughly reconcile to the true Interests of the British Empire.

Nevertheless, we think ourselves entitled, from the pains we have taken to serve you, to the privilege of imparting our Sentiments on your past and future Conduct, with that freedom and Impartiality which Observation and Experience dictate.

You must know better, than to imagine that any well regulated Government will suffer Laws, enacted with a view to Publick Good, to be disputed by lawless Rioters, with Impunity.

There is no Government so perfect, but thro' misinformation, and the frailties even of the most elevated human Understandings, Mistakes or at least the Appearance of such, may arise in the Conduct of Affairs, even in the wisest Legislature — but, is it just, is it tollerable, that without proof of Inconvenience, tumultuous force shall be encouraged by a part, to fly in the face of power established for the good of the whole? We are persuaded gentlemen that you cannot be of that Opinion, and that you will exert your utmost endeavours to Cancel the Remembrance of such flagrant Breaches of Publick Order, and to manifest your Gratitude and Affection to your Mother Country, which by the Repeal of this Act has given such an incontestable proof of her Moderation.

What Sentiments you ought to entertain on this Occasion, and what Conduct we would wish you to observe will sufficiently appear from our former Letter dated 28th February last, and sent by the first Conveyance the Moment we could inform you, with any degree of Certainty what was likely to be the State of the Stamp Act.

We shall only observe, that under Providence you are indebted for this Event to the Clemency and Paternal Regard of his Majesty for the Happiness of his Subjects; to the Publick Spirit, Abilities, and firmness of the present Administration; and to the Humanity, Prudence, and Patriotism of the Generality of those who compose the Legislature, and the most Considerable persons of every Rank in this Kingdom.

We hope Gentlemen that this Conduct in the British Legislature provoked by the most irritating Measures on your side, will for ever be a lesson to your Posterity, as it is the most Convincing Proof, that if by any Means, Laws are or should be, enacted,

detrimental or seemingly Oppressive to any part of the British Subjects; the British Legislature will at all times with the utmost tenderness, Consider Ever[y] Grievance and redress them the moment they are known.

We cannot but acquaint you that had the Americans endeavoured to Acquiesce with the Law, and dutifully represented the Hardships as they Arose, your relief *would* have been more speedy, and we should have avoided many difficulties as well as not a few *Unanswerable* mortifying Reproaches on your Account.

Such however is the Patriotism and Magnanimity of those in power, that, unaffected, by the Conduct of many on your side of the Water, and the Strenuous Efforts of an Opposition here to every Measure of Lenity and Indulgence towards America; they are endeavouring to establish its Commerce in particular, as well as that of the British Empire in general, upon the most solid Foundation, and the most extensive Plan of Utility.

On your parts, we hope that nothing will be wanting to Obliterate the Remembrance of what has passed, by setting the Example yourselves, and Promoting the like Sentiments in others; of a dutifull Attachment to your Sovereign and the Interests of your Mother Country, a just Submission to the Laws, and respect for the Legislature; for in this you are most effectually promoting your Own happiness and Security.

By a Conduct like this Gentlemen, you will both encourage and enable us to serve you with Zeal on future Emergencys; should any such arise; and to Support our Mutual Interests; the Interest of the Colonies, which are inseperable from the common Interests of Great Britain, with Efficacy and Success. We are, Gentlemen, Your assured Friends and very humble Servants,

Benja. Hammet
James Buchanan & Co.
Will'm Molleson.
John Norton
Robert & James Christie
William Anderson
Peter Hodgson
Rich'd & Jno. Samuel
Lever Seton & Croftes
[Sam & Thos.] Fludyer
Bosworth & Griffith
Greenwood & Higginson
Robert Cary & Co.
Rob't & Rob't Boyle & Scott.
Joseph Mico
Perkins, Buchanan & Brown
John Bell
George Maynard
John Nutt
Barlow Trecothick
Edw'd Athawes & Son
Thos. Lane & Co.
T's Harris
Edward Bridgen & Co.
Brook Watson
Capel & Osgood Han[bury]

William Stead
Rich'd Neave & Son
Jno. Stewart & Campbell
David Barclay & Sons
Edw'd & René Payne
John Clark
Matt. Gale
Sil. Grove
Samuel Hannay
Nickelson & King
James Russell
Champion & Dickason
Grah'm Frank & Co.
Harford & Powell
Thos. Philpot
Neate Pigou & B[ooth?]
Nich's R[ay?]
Daniel Vialars
Anth'y Merry
Chris'r Chambers & Co.
Mildred & Roberts
Greg'y Olive & Co.
Harrison & Barnard
Chas. Crockatt
John Buchanan
Oglivie & Mechie
John Strettell
Sam'l Waterman
George Hayley

inclosed we send the Act for the Repeal of the Stamp Act.

[Addressed] To John Hancock Esqr. at Boston, New England. By the *Dispatch*. Capt. Wray.

London, 13th June 1766

Gentlemen, — Refering you to our former Letters of 28th Febry. and 18th March both of which we hope you have long since receiv'd we now inclose three Acts of Parliament, which obtain'd the Royal Assent the 6th instant, Viz't —

An Act, for indemnifying persons who have incurred Penalties in America, on account of the Stamp Act.

An Act for repealing certain Duties, and granting others in lieu thereof, and further regulating several branches of the American Trade.

An Act, for opening and establishing certain Ports in Jamaica and Dominica, for the more free importation and exportation of certain Goods and Merchandizes.

The first will doubtless give you particular satisfaction as compleating the Repeal of the Stamp Act; the other two, we consider as the basis of an extensive System of Trade between Great Britain and her Colonies framed on liberal principles of reciprocal Advantage, relieving the Colonies from injudicious restrictions and severe Duties, enlarging old, and opening to them, new Channels of Commerce, and by securing to Great Britain an increasing consumption

of her Manufactures, and of consequence an extension of her Navigation and Revenue.

You must be sensible, Gentlemen, that from those sources have been derived the Power so happily exerted by this Country on many occasions to guard your Religious and Civil Interests. We are therefore persuaded that you will think it just and necessary to prevent by every possible means, foreign States from sharing in the advantage of your Commerce, and thereby depriving Great Britain of the means to afford you future instances of her parental protection.

The consideration that every Degree of intercourse between the British Colonies and the manufacturing Countries of Europe, tends to strengthen their navigation and increase their manufactures at the expence of our own, will, we are sure, be a sufficient motive to engage you heartily to carry into execution the Clause of the regulation Act inhibiting that intercourse, this may effectually be done if such Trade is held by the principal Merchants among you to be dishonourable — the Laws of Reputation being stronger than any other, and we flatter ourselves that your Friends here will not on any future occasion be made to blush by instances of its violation.

We must observe that notwithstanding the apparent necessity of new commercial Laws, such hath been the persevering opposition to these salutary measures, as to occasion the loss of much time, and to render it impracticable to obtain these Trade Acts in a state of full perfection, for altho' they are in themselves very important and far more than could be expected, yet they are to be considered but as the great Out Lines of a plan to extend the National Commerce; Amendments will doubtless be found necessary and must be adopted, in the meantime we persuade ourselves they will meet a ready obedience on your parts.

It is incumbent on us to mention the happy Union between the West Indian and North American Merchants which has proved of great advantage in combating the Opposition. It took place early in the Session, and for the general good, we sincerely wish it always to subsist in its present cordiality.

The regulation of Paper Currency is postponed in order to communicate to the Colonies, and take their opinion upon a Scheme for a general Paper Currency thro' America which has been proposed to the Administration.

The consideration of permitting you to import Wines, Fruit and Oil, directly from Spain and Portugal is also postponed.

The prohibition of your exporting Bar Iron to Foreign Coun-

tries (mentioned in the memorial from Pensilvania) is considered as beneficial to the Iron Manufacturies of these Kingdoms; to which from good Policy, reason and Justice a preference is due; and we beg leave to recommend your avoiding hereafter any Applications which may be construed into the most distant means of interfering with the manufactures of the Mother Country, either by furnishing her Rivals with raw materials or by the publick encouragement of similar Manufactures among yourselves, no small strength having arisen to your opponents, during the late struggles from each of those topics — In a word, the System of Great Britain is to promote a mutual interest by Supplying the Colonies with her Manufactures, by encouraging them to raise, and receiving from them all raw materials, and by granting the largest extension to every branch of their Trade not interfering with her own.

Having now compleated so far as it can be done this Year, the important Business for which we united in November last, we think it incumbent on us to repeat our sense of the obligations the whole commercial interest of Great Britain and America is under to the present Administration, to whose abilities, attention and perseverance, the progress made in adjusting these great national points must be attributed; and we hope the good consequences of these Regulations, will transmit their names with honour to posterity.

We are, Gentlemen, Your assured Friends and most humble Servants.

Geo: Hayley	Gilb't Francklyn
John Strettell	De Berdt & Burkitt
David Barclay & Sons	Chris'r Chambers
Matt'w Gale	Anth'y Merry
Chas. Ogilvie	Daniel Vialars
Watson & Olive	Barlow Trecothick
Sam & Thos. Fludyer	Edw'd Athawes & Son
Perkins Buchanan & Brown	Lane Son & Fraser
Jno. Stewart & Campbell	Mildred & Roberts
William Anderson	T: Harris
Capel & Osgood Hanbury	James Russell
Nich's Ray.	Bridgen & Wal[ ]
Rich'd Neave & Son	Samuel Hannay
Neate Pigou & Booth	John Clark
Antho: Bacon & Co.	Wm. Greenwood

The Aforegoing is a true Copy of an Original Letter Dated London 13th June 1766, Copy of the Names of the Merchants of the North America Committee, and other North America Merchants of the City of London who signed the said Letter, which was sent to the several Colonies in North America per Favor of Mr. Brook Watson one of the said Committee.

By Order of Barlow Trecothick Esq'r

Chairman of the said Committee. Wm. Tudman, Sec'y July 2d, 1766.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. LORD, THAYER, and STORER.

MARCH MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the first Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Frederic Amory, some papers, 1826–1868, of James S. Amory and Richard Sullivan, Jr.

From Charles E. Banks, of Chicago, card indexes of the officers and soldiers in the Quebec Expedition of 1690, and of Arnold's Expedition against Quebec, 1775.

From T. Franklin Currier, a typewritten list of actors, and other persons connected with the stage, fencing masters, dancing masters, and dancing schools, taken from early Boston directories by Mr. J. Francis Driscoll.

From Miss Josephine MacChord Shaw, additional papers of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, and of Mrs. Shaw (Hope Savage), his second wife, 1770–1861; also a series of Boston Almanacs, 1839–1878, containing memoranda by her.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Miss Josephine MacChord Shaw, a daguerreotype and two photographs of Mrs. Lemuel Shaw (Hope Savage).

From Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, a photograph of the American Delegation to the Conference on the Limitation of Armament, with members of the Advisory Council, experts, secretaries, and officers of the Army and Navy.

From Miss Helen C. McCleary, photographs of two paintings of her grandmother, Maria Lynde (Walter) McCleary, daughter of Lynde Walter, and wife of Samuel Foster McCleary (1780–1855), the first City Clerk of Boston, 1822–1852.

From Walter Eliot Thwing, a heliotype of Supply Clap Thwing, a Boston merchant.

From William H. Bush, of Chicago, a photograph of a portrait owned by him, of Lafayette painted by Rembrandt Peale in 1824, on Lafayette's second visit to Boston.

From the Bostonian Society, a half-tone of the Trustees of the Dorchester Savings Bank, about 1860.

From Dr. Bigelow, a large banjo clock made by Simon Willard, when he was over eighty-four years of age. It hung for many years in the store of Currier and Trott, and of Daniel Brown Widdifield, on Washington Street, at the corner of Milk Street, Boston.

In presenting to the Society the papers of William Livingston Dr. NICHOLS said:

It is the custom of this society to listen, at its Annual meeting, to the report of a Committee on the Library. This committee is made up wholly or in part of new members, and it seemed to me an error to commit this important duty to such an inexperienced body. With my own experience, however, the wisdom of the plan was at once made evident. Not only is there a possibility that the reaction of a new member may bring into view some suggestion of interest and perhaps value but in no other way can the riches and choice possessions of this society be brought to the consciousness of our new members so thoroughly as by such an examination.

In my own case the remarkable collection of manuscripts which are held in trust or have been deeded to the society made such an impression on me that my memory still recalls with pleasure our investigations and the partial list furnished, at my request, by Mr. Tuttle, is often looked over with renewed interest. In consequence of that interest it became my determination, strengthened as time passed, to secure for the society some manuscript or collection of papers which would prove of importance to it in its interpretation of our national history.

Through the vigilance of Mr. Ford such a collection has been brought to my attention and secured by me.

It consists of letters, writings and papers of William Livingston, Governor of New Jersey, 1776–1790, and in addition papers of several members of his family. They passed into the possession of Miss Sara Norton and her sisters, descendants of the governor, and from them to me.

Of Governor Livingston it is perhaps unnecessary to speak. With Governor Trumbull, he occupies a high position in

our revolutionary history, for his long service, individual character and close relations with Washington. New Jersey was the battle field of the war and suffered at the hands of both sides; but Livingston never faltered or drew back when he could further the cause and in the darkest days of the contest, when his state was swept by friend and foe alike, he remained firmly confident of its final success.

The papers now obtained are but a fragment of what he left: even his biographer, Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., in 1833, speaks of the dispersion of the records before he began his task.[1] These are chiefly of a private nature and the public papers are occasional. Such as they are they are characteristic of the man and his career. He had controversial and literary tastes, edited two newspapers of a political complexion, composed essays and poetry and took an active part or interest in the contests of the day. The Independent Reflector (1752–1753) ran for fifty-two numbers and on its death Livingston wrote a series of fifty-three essays printed in the New York Mercury, 1754–1755, under the title of "The Watch Tower." He also wrote a number of essays for the American Museum, at the request of Mathew Carey, its editor. A package of manuscript essays and poems contains examples of his work in this direction and some titles will give a suggestion of their scope: "A Letter to an Episcopal Friend; On an American Bishopric 1768–1769," a subject of much interest to him; "A Parody on Burgoyne's Proclamation, 1777;" "For Whom Our Revolution?" A Criticism on Morse's Geography; and drafts of letters, proclamations, public acts and messages to Legislature.

He was a lawyer and in 1752 prepared a Digest of the Laws of the Colony from 1691 to 1751 and ten years later prepared a second volume, still a work of authority and source of legal history. Among the manuscripts are his own register of his law cases, 1759–1767, carefully kept and minutely endorsed, one of the few extensive records of a colonial lawyer in existence, and a package of legal briefs that throw some light on procedure. For the colonial period his receipt books in this collection contain such signatures as John Holt, the printer, Philip Schuyler, Richard Morris, James Duane, and John

[1] *Life of William Livingston*, 6, 151.

Alsop and a large number of bills and accounts, chiefly personal. He engaged in privateering in 1757 and his bills for 1777 are eloquent on the depreciation of the currency. For the period of the Revolution there are original letters to him and drafts of his replies, resolutions and letters of the Continental Congress, a contemporary copy of Governor Trumbull's elaborate letter to Baron Van der Capellen, August 31, 1779, records of Courts Martial, minutes of the Council and civil and military petitions. Some transcripts from the Governor's letter books by Mr. Sedgwick preserve a part of those lost records.

The draft of Governor Livingston's will, inventory of his estate, catalogue of his library and papers of his executors — John Sloss Hobart, Matthew Clarkson and Robert Watts — give a full record of his lands and personal estate and not a little local history. A number of parchment deeds and the proposal of the son for publishing the life and writings of his father in 1801, with correspondence growing out of it, will close my glance at this part of the collection. I could give a list of the good autographs to be found but the personal and historical value of the papers can be developed only by careful study. There are two profiles of the Governor of more than personal interest.

The family connection was wide and the collection contains many items by its members. Letters of John Jay and his wife Sarah, daughter of Governor Livingston, and other members of the Jay family, are intimate and characteristic of the writers and of the times. Another daughter of the Governor married John Cleves Symmes, a jurist of high standing and a pioneer in the Northwest territory. A package of his letters to his wife makes history for New Jersey, where he was chief justice, and for Ohio, where he was also judge and a large landowner.

The son, Brockholst Livingston, served in the continental army and afterwards went to Spain, and in both positions wrote good letters. A third daughter, Catherine, married Matthew Ridley, an Englishman, who came to America about 1770 and settled in Baltimore, as a merchant. He returned to England in 1775 and remained abroad during the Revolution, in England and France, where he engaged in commercial

ventures, was an agent of Maryland and negotiated a loan for the State in Holland.

Here are his letter books, practically complete from 1770–1788, a full record of a merchant in war times and of his statement of political and commercial conditions and rumors. His letters to Dr. Franklin, Jonathan Williams, Samuel Chase, Joshua Johnson, Dr. Bancroft and Mark Pringle are good history and a selection will be made for publication. A number of letters written to Ridley complete the story. The entire collection will number about 1500 pieces — a veritable treasure trove for the investigator — and it is with pleasure that I now present them to this Society.

Mr. Norcross read a statement by Miss Eliza Susan Quincy in December, 1880:

Perhaps it may be useful for Miss Quincy to state, that there stood at the corner of Tremont and School St. until about 1820, a brick house, built probably about 1720, by Jacob Wendell, an ancestor of Dr. O. W. Holmes, in a style of which the College Massachusetts, in 1880, is the only specimen. In the first decade of this century, there were several in Boston. The house of Thomas Palmer, Esq., in Pearl St., which divided, became the residence for some years, of Col. T. H. Perkins and James Lovell.

There was another of these houses in Summer St. and the Waldo house in Tremont St. besides the court yard of the house of Gardiner Greene, Esq. The Massachusetts College is formed of two of these houses, joined together. The Wendell house had a deep court yard fronting toward School St. It became a boarding house, and after it was taken down there was a livery stable established on its site, and in its court yard.

Dr. Storer spoke on

Letters of the Indian Captive Mary Storer of Wells

1725–1737

I take pleasure in depositing with the Society certain letters that are not without a certain romantic interest, the more so as apparently with one exception they are the only letters that have come down to us that were written by a New England

girl who was a prisoner of the Indians. They are twenty-four in number, with dates running from 1725 to 1764 and are largely the correspondence of Mary Storer St. Germaine of Montreal with her brother Ebenezer Storer of Boston.

Mary Storer, daughter of Joseph Storer of Wells, was born in 1685. Her father, a direct ancestor of mine, was one of the leading citizens of Wells, leaving an estate of $5000 — no mean sum for the inhabitant of a village of those days. This result of New England thrift seems to have been largely due to the fact that he was licensed as a retailer of beer and strong waters — and incidentally was once indicted "for Keeping Keeles and bowls at his house, contrary to law." Keeles, I believe, are ninepins. Storer built a garrison house in Wells in 1689, for the heroic defense of which with 15 men against 400 French and Indians under Moxus, Captain Converse was made Commander in Chief of all the forces in that region. Miss Baker in her *True Stories of New England Captives* says: "In the annals of New England there are no nobler names than those of Lieut. Joseph Storer and Captain Wheelwright" who also, by the way, was a licensed retailer; and in Bourne's *History of Wells* I find: "Perhaps it may be said that in him (Joseph Storer) more than any other man was the Province indebted for its preservation from utter desolation. The timely erection of his garrison afforded the last refuge for the fleeing inhabitants — without this there would have been no barrier to complete waste and abandonment by civilized man." This and the fact that according to tradition Lieutenant Storer "always wore leather breeches" would seem to be his chief claims to fame.

At the time of the Wells massacre of 1703 Mary Storer, instead of being scalped as was the fate of many of the unhappy victims, was taken prisoner by the Indians and held a captive by them for some months. She was then discovered by the indefatigable Jesuit Père Bigot who induced the Indians to turn their captives over to him, for what inducement does not appear. The Storers seem to have suffered heavily. A letter from one Littlefield, who was a prisoner in Montreal in 1708, says: "Mary Storar is well and Rachel Storar is well and —— Storar is well." This "Storar" is

unquestionably Mary Priscilla Storer. Mary never speaks of Rachel in her letters but does constantly of her "cozzen Prisilla," who like Rachel was a daughter of Jeremiah (a brother of Joseph) and Ruth Masters Storer of Wells. Rachel Storer married a Berger of Quebec, while Priscilla in 1711, at the age of twenty-six, married Jean Baptiste Dagueil, sergeant in the company of M. de la Forest of Montreal. Père Bigot, according to a family tradition, placed Mary Storer and Esther Wheelwright in the Ursuline Convent at Quebec, where Esther subsequently rose to be Mother Superior of the Convent and a power in Canada. This legend must, however, be incorrect as regards Mary Storer, or at any rate if she was at the Convent at all it must have been for a very short time. For in 1708 she was living in Boucherville some three leagues down the river from Montreal and may have been there baptized, becoming thereby a Catholic and in that same year married Jean Gautier, dit St. Germain, and in the fulness of time bore to him ten children, four at least of whom grew up and were married. Mary promptly dropped the Gautier part of her name. The Gautiers, or rather St. Germains, were evidently prosperous, for Theodore Atkinson in his Diary of 1725 says he "visited Mr. Storer's daughter, who is very well married to a frenchman, a farmer. He lives very Grandly."

In 1725 Mary Storer was fortunate enough to obtain permission to leave Canada and went to New England in the party of the Commissioners of Redemption as far as Albany, thence going down the river to New York and presumably by boat to Newport and thence to Boston. Her visit to her kindred was short, but we can imagine her happiness at seeing them again after twenty-three years of separation. The first of her letters is written on her way home by the same route, being dated Newport, June, 1725. This like all her letters is extremely illiterate — a girl's education did not go far in those days and in her long exile she had probably forgotten much of her English. None of the letters have much historical value and contain chiefly merely family gossip and affectionate messages. It is greatly to be regretted that nowhere is there a reference to her experiences while with the Indians, about which one cannot but be curious. Under such

circumstances the fate of a girl of eighteen was not likely to be a happy one, although Miss Baker charitably hopes the girls were well treated as being of potential value in case of ransom. Letter no. 2 is an example of them all. While endorsed in a strange hand — not that of Ebenezer — as being received by him, it was in all probability written to her brother Seth, minister in Watertown.

From rodeiland June 28 1725

my deare and euer louing brother my kind loue and respects to you hoping that thiese fue liens will finde you in good healthe as they leave me at this time I thank god for it my deare brother I had but a litel time with you who I thought woulde show and teach me more than anay bodey sir but what you have saide to me I will not forgett it and I hope god will in able me in all my afflictions and that it may be for the best and good of my soule dear brother doe not for get me in youre prayers which i hope will be a comfort to me and what euer paines and troble I have and shall have in all my Jorney I take with pations and I hope god will have mercie on me and helpe me I am sory I coulde not stay no longer with my deare father and mother which makes my harte so heavi almost redei to brake and my eyes full of teirs. remember my kinde louve to my brother Ebenezer and his wife and my litel cousin mary storer I pray Sir wright to me by all oppertunitis no more at present but desiring youre praiers for me who is youre loveing

sister mary st germaine

From this pitifull letter we can infer that her brother had been giving her ghostly counsel. Throughout the letters there is constant evidence of great irritation on the part of her Boston relatives over something, which I strongly suspect was her marrying a foreigner and a catholic and becoming one herself — the Unforgiveable Sin of those days. They never quite got over this feeling against her and with reason she feared she would not get her share of her father's estate when he died in 1733, as we infer from the following letter to her mother:

I received one letter from my brother ebenezer the last of July and in it the death of my father it is a grate grief to me now I

am a poore fatherless childe my harte brakes with sighing and my ioys smarte with teirs (as usual) Now my deare mother I am afraide now you are very aged to [hear] the same news so ferefull to me concarning you my deare mother my brother ebenezer wright to me that my deare father maide his will that I may be equal to my sisters you may belive my deare mother why I am so far frome you and my dear familie I belave that it is not cappable to kep it from me who is your one child now we have a gove'ner & he will not give permission to goe in Ingland (New England) to oure countre my dear mother pray send it to me etc.

To this incoherent appeal Ebenezer cautiously replied that he had no doubt but that his mother would do whatever was proper. I do not think any good New England money ever went to Canada — at least I find no reference to any being received. In fact Mary was misinformed as to her father's will, which contained the item:

I give and Bequeath to my beloved Daughter Mary St. Germain Fifty pounds in good Contrey pay upon condition that She return from under the French Government & Settle in New England. Otherwise if She doth not return then I Give & bequeath to her the Sum of Tenn Shillings in Country Pay to be Two Years next after my decease over and above what I have already given her.

In spite of this misunderstanding pitifully tender letters come from Montreal every year or two until 1748 when a letter from St. Germaine, in a scrivener's hand, informs his brother-in-law that some six months previously Mary had died " en parfaite Chretienne," and that in their thirty-nine years of married life they had " fait un mariage d'Ange et navons jamais eu aucune difficulté." Very remarkable if strictly true. St. Germaine kept writing to Boston until 1754, pleading that his letters should be more promptly answered. Answers came though tardy and formal.

Ebenezer Storer was a thriving merchant of Boston, of the familiar diaconal type. His letters to his wife abound in pious phrase but behind is to be seen a deep tenderness. He was apparently of some importance in the world. A letter preserved at the Islesford Historical Society speaks of

Charles Storer

RESEARCH

his then being on a mission to arrange peace with the coast Indians. In the Boston Gazette of June 1st, 1761, appears the following:

Last Friday sen'night died here, after a few days Illness, in the Sixty-second year of his Age, EBENEZER STORER, Esq: Merchant; who for a Number of Years was an Overseer of the Poor of this Town, and one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace.— In the commercial World, where his Dealings were large, his Reputation was unsullied; and as a Magistrate he discharged his Trust with Prudence, and inflexible Integrity. His Humanity and public affection appeared in the Care and Tenderness with which he dispersed (sic) the Alms of the Town, as well as of the Church which he served as Deacon, adding to them his own Bounties, and in the Chearfulness with which he aided every public-spirited Design. So that the Death of this Gentleman, amiable in every relation, is not only very sensibly felt by his Family and Friends, but justly esteemed a public Loss. He maintained thro' a long Course of Years the character of a devout Christian and that Piety which he exemplified in his Life, supported him under the severe Pains of his last sickness and SMOOTH'D THE BED OF DEATH.

It may have a certain interest to trace how these letters have come down. From the Ebenezer to whom they were addressed they came into the possession of his grand nephew Ebenezer, Treasurer of Harvard College for many years, and from him to that of his daughter Mary Storer (Mrs. Seth Johnson) who gave them to her niece Mrs. Martha Wilson Murray (Mrs. David Murray) of New Brunswick, N. J., who after holding them for some fifty years very kindly turned them over to me with a number of other Storer relics. According to some of these other heirlooms bygone Storers would seem to have had romantic passages in their lives that are wanting in these more prosaic days. Charles Storer, a son of the Ebenezer of Harvard, according to legend had in Paris certain love affairs with a lady named Amélie and also with another named Marie. Be this as it may, I have here a miniature of Charles Storer, a handsome youth with a rather merry eye, and also miniatures of two ladies of pleasing features and also a ring in which hair of two different shades is entwined, with the initials A–M over all and engraved within "Recorde de l'Amitié 1789." Surely quite complete.

William Almy to Elisha Story

In presenting a letter from William Almy on the Stamp Act riot in Newport, with a song that accompanied it, Mr. Edward Gray said: This song, with a letter from Newport, was published in the *Boston Evening Post* on September 2, 1765.

On October 28, 1765, John Powell wrote Christopher Champlin from London: "I wrote you by Captain Bruce advising of my safe arrival here, since which received yours by the Bristol ship, that brought over Dr. Moffat and Mr. Howard. The latter is under Inoculation. I saw him yesterday is well. But a little too low spirited." [1]

The Almy letter refers also to Dr. Elisha Story's father. This was William Story, and both Lorenzo Sabine (*Loyalists of the American Revolution,* II. 337) and Stark (*The Loyalists of Massachusetts,* 503) include him among the Loyalists. This error seems worth correcting.

William Story was born at Boston, April 25, 1720, the son of Elisha Story and Sarah (Cooper) Renouf. He was a notary public and register of Probate, and, in 1759, was appointed Deputy Registrar of the Court of Vice Admiralty at Boston. On August 26, 1765, his house, in the lower part of which was his office, which contained the records of the court of Vice Admiralty, was attacked by the mob, along with those of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson and Benjamin Hallowell, Jr., and his private papers, the records of the Admiralty court, and some furniture were destroyed. This occurrence probably accounts for the mistake made by both Sabine and Stark.

Story resigned his office, and removed to Ipswich, the home of his second wife. During the Revolution, he was clerk to the Navy Board at Boston. He died at Marblehead, November 24, 1799.

A comparison of the handwriting of William Story, former deputy registrar of the Court of Vice Admiralty, on his petition of October 29, 1766, to the General Court for compen-

[1] *Commerce of Rhode Island,* I. 130.

sation for loss suffered during the riot,[1] with that of William Story, clerk to the Navy Board,[2] shows that the same person held both these positions.

NEWPORT Aug't 29th 1765. Thursday

MY WORTHY FRIEND, — In my Last I Promis'd to give you the Particulars of Our Transactions here, Concerning the Stamp Affair, Which I now shall Endeavour to do. In the First Place I'll Just Inform you Concerning Mr. Martin Howard Jun'r and Doct'r Moffatt, who was hung in Efigy with the Stamp Master. Mr. Howard and the Doctor you must know have made themselves very Busy with their Pen (By all accounts) In Writing Against the Colonies and in Favour of the Stamp Act etc.

In the Morning of the 27th Inst. between five and six a Mob Assembled and Erected a Gallows near the Town House and then Dispers'd, and about Ten A Clock Reassembled and took the Effigys of the Above Men and the Stamp Master and Carted them up Thames Street, then up King Street to the said Gallows where they was hung up by the Neck and Suspended near 15 feet in the Air, And on the Breast of the Stamp Master, was this Inscription THE STAMP MAN, and holding in his Right hand the Stamp Act, And upon the Breast of the Doct'r was wrote, THAT INFAMOUS, MISCREATED, LEERING JACOBITE DOCT'R MURFY. In his Right hand was a folded Letter with this Direction To that Mawgazeene of Knowledge Doct'r Muffy in Rhode Island, And on the Same Arm was Wrote, If I had but Rec'd this Letter from the Earl of Bute But One Week sooner. And upon a strip of paper hanging out of his Mouth was wrote It is too late Martinius to Retract, for we are all Aground.

And upon Mr. Howard's Breast was wrote, THAT FAWNING, INSIDIOUS, INFAMOUS MISCREANT AND PARACIDE MARTINIUS SCRIBLERIUS, and upon his Right Arm was wrote, THE ONLY FILIAL PEN. Upon his left Arm was wrote, CURS'D AMBITION AND YOUR CURSED CLAN HAS RUIN'D ME and upon the Same Arm a little Below was this, WHAT THO' I BOAST OF INDEPENDANCE POSTERITY WILL CURSE MY MEMORY. And upon one of the Posts of the Gallows was wrote, We have an Heriditary Indefeasible Right to a Halter, Besides we Encourag'd the Growth of Hemp you know. And Underneath that, was a New Song (made upon the Occasion) which I have here

[1] Mass. Archives, XLIV. 604.

[2] In the Huntington Papers, in the custody of the Massachusetts Historical Society, there are several letters in his handwriting, and one signed by him as clerk.

Inclos'd. And upon the other Post was wrote That Person who shall Efface this Publick Mark of Resentment will be Deem'd an Enemy to liberty and Accordingly meet with Proper Chastisement. And about five A Clock in the Afternoon they made a Fire under the Gallows which Consum'd the Effigy's, Gallows and all, to Ashes. I forgot to tell you that a Boot hung over the Doctor's Shoulder with the Devil Peeping out of it etc. I've Inclos'd you a piece that was Stuck up in the Town House at the Same time. And after the Effigys were Burnt the Mob Dispers'd and we thought it was all Over. But last Night about Dusk they all Muster'd again, and first they went to Martin Howard's, and Broke Every Window in his house Frames and all, likewise Chairs Tables, Pictures and every thing they cou'd come across. they also Saw'd down two Trees which Stood before his door and Bro't them and Stuck them up in two Great Guns which have been fix''d at the Bottom of the Parade some Years as Posts. when they found they had Entirely Demolish'd all his Furniture and done what damage they Cou'd, They left his house, and Proceeded to Doctor Moffatts where they Behav'd much in the Same Manner. I Can't say which Came off the Worst, For all the Furniture of Both Houses were Entirely Destroy'd, Petitions of the houses broke down, Fences Level'd with the Ground and all the Liquors which were in Both Houses were Entirely Lost. Dear Doctor this Moment I've Rec'd a Peace of News which Effects me so Much that I Cant write any More, which is the Demolition of your worthy Daddy's house and Furniture etc. But I must Just let you know that the Stamp Master has Resign'd, the Copy of His Resignation and Oath I now Send you. I hope, my Friend You'll Send me the Particulars of your daddy's Misfortune. Yours for Ever

W. Almy.

[Addressed] To Doctor Elisha Story, Boston.

A New Song

He who for a Post or Base sordid Pelf
His Country Betrays, Makes a Rope for himself.
Of this an Example, Before you we Bring
In these Infamous Rogues, Who in Effigy Swing.

Huzza my Brave Boys, Ev'ry man Stand his Ground
With Liberty's Praise, Let the Welkin Resound
Eternal Disgrace On those Miscreants Fall
Who Through Pride or for Wealth, Wou'd Ruin us All.

Let us Make wise Resolves and to them stand strong
Your Puffs and your Vapours will Ne'er last Long
To Ma[i]ntain Our Just Rights, Every Measure Pursue
To Our King we'll be Loyal, To Ourselves we'll be True.

Those Blessings Our Fathers, Obtain'd by their Blood
We are Justly Oblig'd to Our sons to make Good
All Internal Taxes let us then Nobly spurn
These Effigy's First, The Next The Stamp Papers Burn.

Chorus.

Sing Tantarara, Burn All, Burn All
Sing Tantarara, Burn All.

CHILDREN'S STORY BOOKS

In presenting a number of volumes Dr. WARREN said:

This group of children's story books, thirty-four in number, embraces a period dating from 1838 to 1858; having escaped the ordeal of two generations of young readers and still remaining in good condition, they seemed worth preserving on the shelves of this Society. They comprise a group of publications representing what might fairly be called the "Rollo Period of Literature," and indeed many of them are examples of the product of the author of that interesting series of tales of child life.

Jacob Abbott (father of Lyman Abbott) the author of the Rollo books, was born in Hallowell, Maine, in 1803. He held a professorship in Amherst College and afterwards founded the Mount Vernon School for Girls in Boston in 1829. Later in life he devoted himself entirely to child literature and wrote more than two hundred volumes, many of which were reproduced in England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Holland, France and India. A reference to him says: "It is probably no exaggeration to say that his books have had many millions of readers, and that thousands of the leading men of this country have received their first impulse to a high moral character and a manly and useful life from some one of his volumes."

This collection contains four volumes by Maria Edgeworth, who was born in Reading, England, in 1767 and died in 1849 in Edgeworthston, Ireland, where she had resided since 1782. It also contains books which bear the imprint of publishers on Bond Street and St. Paul's Churchyard, London. Two fine examples of the printer's work of this period are *The Good Natured Bear* and *The Man of Snow* and other tales. The former is a translation from the German, as is also a tiny edition of *Puss in Boots,* a classic of that day taking rank with Cinderella and Red Riding-hood. An interesting volume in this group is *Peter Parley's First Book of History.* This writer and educator, Samuel Griswold Goodrich, publisher in Boston of many historical and geographical school-books, was born at Ridgefield, Conn., on August 19, 1793, and died in New York May 9, 1860.

Another small volume, entitled *The Child's Treasury of Knowledge* is dedicated to little boys and girls who delight in obeying their parents, in the hope that it may make them wise, good and happy. It is prettily illustrated with many wood-cuts, of the Rollo and Lucy type of childhood. Yet on page 24 the following quotation illustrates the punishment meted out for disobedience: "without saying one word or asking one question Frank's father seized a large cane. Frank, who saw this, trembled from head to foot. He did not attempt to excuse himself but fell upon his knees and cried out for mercy. His father flogged him so severely that he was unwell for more than a week."

The latter part of this period of twenty years is illustrated by works of Captain Mayne Reid, whose boy hunters and forest exiles did much to bring before the youth of that period the marvellous scenery and life in the great west. Hawthorne's *Wonder Book* and *Tanglewood Tales* which complete this series, have perhaps done as much as any form of classic literature to impress upon the youthful mind the myths of ancient Greece.

The Vice-President announced the appointment of the following Committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. Wil-

LIAM BRADFORD HOMER DOWSE, GAMALIEL BRADFORD, and GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE.

To examine the Library and Cabinet: Messrs. THOMAS GODDARD FROTHINGHAM, Rev. HENRY BRADFORD WASHBURN, and GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts: Messrs. HENRY HERBERT EDES, and CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH.

Mr. MAYO read extracts from a Diary of Gov. John D. Long when Secretary of the Navy, 1898.

Mr. WOLKINS read a paper on

THE SEIZURE OF JOHN HANCOCK'S SLOOP "LIBERTY"

Not in 1768 was there an episode of more significance than the seizure of the *Liberty*. Clashes there had been; but not before June 10 that year had there been an encounter with armed forces of the Crown, posted here to preserve order and to uphold the authority of Parliament. It was as if the inhabitants were being hurried toward a crisis; among partisans on either side bitterness and recrimination fell little short of political hysteria, and on both sides there was a perceptible stiffening of the argument over theories of control. The details are interesting, both for their local political bearing and for the support they give to modern historical views. The impetus was commercial, much of it; but there was involved a deep-seated resentment over the interference of crown officers with local practices of long standing, and in the affair of the *Liberty* we can see the breach widened. Witnessed by resolutions of the impressment meeting four days later, the venture of the revenue officers in expropriating John Hancock's sloop and outward cargo marked a distinct advance in the claim of the Boston junto that the differences were in fact irreconcilable; from that day there could be no compromise.

While among students of the pre-revolutionary period the *Liberty* affray is seldom ignored, it is dealt with usually only in the barest outline. It was but one of numerous complications, of course, but the accessible documents are of conse-

quence, and apparently not since Bancroft's day have many of them been examined with the closeness they deserve. Not alone do they illustrate certain formulas for political action, but they throw light also on the mauling of an extremely delicate matter — the attachment of Americans to the mother country. The new fiscal policy was being tried; the burden here was heavier than merchants felt they could bear, and moreover there was a studied indifference to local opinion that grew increasingly offensive. Mr. Channing's careful chapter on "The Townshend Acts"[1] makes uncalled for any fresh account of exactions and hardships imposed by the legislation of 1767, and there is room only to recall the projected invigoration of the customs service, the improvements in admiralty jurisdiction, and the preferential duties that were designed to protect goods made or warehoused in England. Of the revenue taxes then in force the very stiffest was on "Madeira and wine of the Western Isles from the Islands," a matter of £7 or 140*s.* per ton of two hundred and fifty-two gallons,[2] while "Wines through Great Britain from Spain, Portugal, or elsewhere, except French," were dutiable only to the extent of 10*s.* per ton,[3] and the Hancock family's correspondence with Madeira was but one of the trade channels that were threatened with extinction.[4] In the days of the Stamp Act John Hancock had ventured to say, and with some reason, that not a man in England in proportion to his estate paid so great a tax as he did,[5] and there was every indication that the ministerial party was not only determined to provide a productive revenue that would at the same time throw a protecting arm around the British manufacturers and merchants, but was of

[1] *A History of the United States*, III.

[2] Geo. III, Cap. 15. *Statutes at Large* (1786), VII. 457.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] "As to Wines, it is computed about 400 Tons are annually imported into this Province, which at £7: per Ton is £2800 — but as our Trade will be lessened, we shall not have Means left to pay for so much by one Half; we must use Cyder, and malt Liquors; the first we have Plenty of, the latter we can make near equal in Goodness to any in Great Britain." Copy of Letter sent to Jasper Mauduit, November 28, 1764, and to Richard Jackson the Spring following. *Lee* MSS., III. 2.

[5] John Hancock to Devonshire & Reeves, Nov. 4, 1765, in the MS. Letter-Book owned by the New England Historic-Genealogical Society.

firm mind also to devise customs machinery so carefully articulated that smuggling and other evasions of the revenue acts would be effectually brought to an end.[1]

The American Board of Commissioners of the Customs was constituted, and the four of its members who sailed from England reached Boston on Guy Fawkes Day, November 5, 1767. Theirs was not a gracious task, but they took hold with a certain energy and accounts show they were moderately efficient.[2] From the customs viewpoint the discouragements were many; and among them was the widely recognized attitude of the Earl of Shelburne, Principal Secretary of State for the Southern Department, who then had jurisdiction over the colonies. In the House of Lords he had pressed for repeal of the Stamp Act [3] and later he had credit for judgment and tact in resolutely opposing additional forces to support prerogative in America.[4] But toward the end of 1767 [5] the influence of the King and the "King's Friends" was exerted to deprive Shelburne of the American department.[6] He was too warm an admirer of

[1] For Act creating a Board of Customs Commissioners in America see *Statutes at Large* (1786), VIII. 24. 7 George III, cap. 41.

[2] According to "An account of the Gross Receipt, Payments and Net Produce by Each Act from 5th January 1768 to 5th January 1769 as appears by the Accounts in my Office," signed by "James Porter Compr Genl Custom House Boston the 15th November 1769," the gross receipts for the Port of Boston that year were £9508. 18*s*. 1½*d*., from which payments were £774. 16*s*. 9*d*., or net receipts of £8734. 1*s*. 4½*d*., with certain "Accounts Wanting." For all the ports together under the jurisdiction of the American Commissioners, Newfoundland to the Bahamas, the gross receipts were £39,734 4*s* ½*d*, less payments of £2977 8*s* 10*d*, or net receipts of £36,756 12*s* 2¼*d*. — PRO, Treasury, Class 1, Bundle 465, fo. 112. See Commissioners of the Customs in America to Lords of the Treasury, May 12, 1768, complaining of delays in the post routes. *Infra*.

[3] *American Historical Review*, XVII. 584.

[4] Trevelyan, *The American Revolution* (1921 *ed*.), I. 10.

[5] "The Ministry is very unsettled. A new Secretary for America alone, is at last appointed — Ld. Hillsborough . . . Mr. Greenville [sic] seems our most bitter enemy, and takes every opportunity to render us obnoxious . . ." Nathaniel Rogers to Hutchinson, London, Dec. 30, 1767, *Mass. Archives*, XXV. 240.a

[6] "The truth of the case is amongst all Gentlemen here almost, they are grown quite weary of American matters, they think they did so much in the repeal of the Stamp Act, they think our opposition to the present Act so unreasonable & ungrateful, and American Affairs have been so long the subject that they hate to think of them or of anything that brings them to their mind. this I have found pretty general, with all with whom I have

Pitt to be left in charge of affairs requiring "firmness," and there was newly created, to rank with Shelburne, a third principal secretary of state, to have the care exclusively of plantations and colonies overseas. The noble appointee was Wills Hill, Earl of Hillsborough, and his was the new influence in colonial administration when the American Commissioners of the Customs were laying their plans for 1768.

Viscount Barrington wrote Governor Bernard on January 8,[1] that the change had been determined upon — a letter which Bernard did not receive until about February 20[2] — but it is quite likely that more than one crown officer had had private intimations somewhat earlier.[3] In any case, the well informed on these shores were quick to sense a distinct change in policy at Westminster and the phalanx of placemen pressed forward to greet the "new system." The new minister was fed the morsels he would approve, and among the faithful there was a lively satisfaction that now Horatius was on hand and the colonial Etruscans would be taught their place at the proper end of the bridge. Arthur Lee was on friendly terms with Lord Shelburne,[4] and he must have written from knowledge when he warned his brother of the program for Virginia. "Your Governor's speech," he wrote, "was drawn up here [in London] and

---

conversed. My Lord Rockingham who is our best friend among the Nobility, is out of all patience, he told a Gentleman, a friend of mine, a few days ago, that we were determined not to leave our friends this side the water, without the power even of a shadow of an excuse . . ." Nathaniel Rogers to Hutchinson, London, July 2, 1768, *Ib.*, 263.

"These New England People always were a Refractory People, ever since, and indeed, even in King William's Time." Newcastle to Rockingham, July 23, 1768, L. C. *Transcripts.* Add[1] MSS. 32990, fo. 340. "I wish your Lordship would let me have what particulars you may have picked up, relating to The Behaviour of our Colonies in America. It is represented very bad. And I am afraid, It is so. It is even called *a Revolt.*" Newcastle to Albemarle, August 24, 1768. *Ib.* (32991[a], fo. 27).

[1] *The Barrington-Bernard Correspondence* (Harvard Historical Studies), 130.

[2] *Ib.*, 147. "Both the Mails of . . . Febry are still due . . . I have no advice in an Official Way of the Appointment of Lord Hillsborough." *Ib.*, 153.

[3] P. 3, *u.* 5. *supra.* and Bancroft (1854) ed. VI. 110, notes.

[4] Shelburne to A. Lee, in *Lee* MSS. (Harvard College Library), I. 1744–1772.

debated in Council, before he went out; Lord Shelburne obtain'd the expunging an express requisition to your assembly for acknowledging the declaratory Bill; if therefore any such is made; it is on the sole authority of Lord Hillsborough."[1]

It is clear that Lord Hillsborough was of the same kidney with the Earl of Bute, the Duke of Grafton, and Lord North. Trevelyan points to pungent respects paid them by so stout a Tory as Samuel Johnson: "I will not say that what they did was always wrong; but it was always done at a wrong time."[2] Mr. Channing repeats for us the estimate Lord Hillsborough earned from the King himself some eight years later, when George III gave it as his considered opinion that he had never known "a man of less judgment."[3] Arthur Lee thought Hillsborough "extremely shallow,"[4] and there is the added word of Viscount Bryce last summer that "There were strong and wise statesmen in England but they were not in power!"[5] On both sides of the Atlantic there were offices in the public employment that were just "places," bestowed as marks of favor; it was personal government, and personal government was among the issues involved in the seizure of the sloop "Liberty."

Francis Bernard had been governor since the recall of Pownall in 1760. He had married a cousin of Viscount Barrington, then Secretary at War. For thirty-three years Barrington was a consistent place-keeper through successive administrations, and perhaps at no time did Bernard feel more strongly intrenched in royal good opinion than at the

[1] A. Lee to a brother, March 23, 1769. Lee MSS., III. 46. Lord Hillsborough took office January 20, 1768. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[2] Trevelyan, *George the Third and Charles Fox*, I. 12.

[3] *A History of the United States*, III. 98, citing Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission's *Reports*, X. Appendix VI. 15.

[4] R. H. Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee* (1829), V. 185, *et seq.*

Of Lord Hillsborough Franklin wrote, — "My quarrel is only with him, who, of all men I ever met with, is surely the most unequal in his treatment of people, the most insincere, and the most wrongheaded; . . ." Letter to William Franklin, July 14, 1773, *Works*, V. 196.

"You may conceive, sir, whether such a temper perpetually acted upon by the implacable hatred of Bernard is likely to abandon a favourite system of tyranny and revenge, without any apparent reason." *Ib.*, V. 215.

[5] *The Study of American History*, 33.

See Hillsborough to Bernard, *Bernard Papers*, XI. (Correspondence), *passim* 187–285.

appointment of Lord Hillsborough. No king's minister could have been more credulous than Hillsborough; none could have swallowed more easily the views and judgments framed for him by so assiduous a courtier as Francis Bernard. Like other functionaries of that era the governor could see nothing improper in advancing Jonathan Sewall for the dual post of attorney-general and advocate-general for the Massachusetts jurisdiction and justice of the court of Vice-Admiralty at Halifax, holding both offices at one and the same time.[1] To one so "knowing,"[2] the practical working out was simple; Sewall could be allowed to act here because of "desirable cases" coming up, and once he had opened court at Halifax leave would be granted for a year at a time, leaving the business in charge of a deputy. Bernard could be bland, too, in reassuring Hutchinson that he had made no mistake in giving a character to John Adams. When Bernard had returned to England in 1769, he wrote: "I was asked by one of the Ministry today who that John Adams was; I gave him as favorable an answer as I could, but not such as could have justified the appointment of him to an office of Trust"![3] The two items are an index to the political idealism of this "Provincial Bashaw,"[4] who wrote Jackson, Agent of the Province, that "Governments are to be caught flying by watching the opportunity."[5] Once rid of the guarded hand of Lord Shelburne, Bernard, together with the Commissioners of the Customs, the latter also resident in Boston, but with scope[6] from Davis Strait to the Keys of Florida, Bermuda and the Bahamas, bestirred themselves for a period of old-time Stuart enforcement.[7] On congratulating Lord Hillsborough, Bernard

[1] Bernard to Philip Stephens [Admiralty], March 15, 1769. *Bernard Papers* (*Letter Book*), VII. 153.

[2] *Barrington-Bernard Correspondence,* 140.

[3] Bernard to Hutchinson, Nov. 17, 1770. *Bernard Papers* (*Letter Books*), VIII. 21.

[4] See B. Church, *Address to a Provincial Bashaw* (1769).

[5] *Bernard Papers* (*Letter Book*), January 24, 1769.

[6] Circular, Rochford to certain "Ministers and Consuls," December 6, 1768, directing them to send "immediate Notice of all British Vessels . . . which you suspect . . . to be carrying on an illicit Trade . . . to or from . . . America." — PRO, Treasury, Class 1, Bundle 466, fo. 259.

[7] In the talk of the day they were "contemptible salary hunters." See

asserted: "The reducing this country into good Order is become the most arduous Task that perhaps Administration was ever engaged in." [1] Duties were to be collected, surly inhabitants were to be taught their obligations to Government, and, as crown officers, Bernard and the Commissioners encouraged, advisedly, "the rigorous measures which the new system was to pursue." [1] Of what use was a colonial civil list, independent of assemblies, if forfeitures were sparse, and collections meagre?

For a governor who kept "clear," as he said, "of giving any provocation by not resenting any," [2] the success of Capt. Daniel Malcolm in resisting the revenue officers was like a sore boil. On March 14, 1768, Bernard wrote to Pownall: "The officers of the Customs are still threatened with Violence and Vengeance; nor are the Commissioners spared. But no actual Violence has hitherto happened, except a strong-handed landing a cargo of a Ship in defiance of Law which still remains unpunished for want of Power rather than Discovery." [3] The attempted seizure of Malcom's private stock, in his cellar, was on September 24, 1766, nearly fourteen months before the new customs authorities came, and now, soon after their establishment, the same culprit had flaunted their authority. The two cases were so flagrant that amidst organizing and reorganizing there was a duty not only to examine into all the details of the repeated fiascos, but to make certain no such incident should be suffered to recur.

It was in this atmosphere of evasion and "indulged" [4]

Committee of Sons of Liberty to John Wilkes, June 6, 1768. Gay *Transcripts* (Miscellaneous Papers), III. 17. John Adams and Joseph Warren were on the committee.

[1] Franklin, *Works* (Sparks), IV. 483; *Bernard Papers* (*Letter Books*), VI. 296.

[2] Bernard to John Pownall, February 18, 1767. *Bernard Papers* (*Letter Books*), V. 13. See "Diary of Captain Corner, enclosed in letter of Commodore Hood to the Admiralty, Oct. 12, 1768." "Thursday the 15th [September] threats and Panic as usual the Guvenor [Bernard] wishes himself away says he believes the *Romney* prevented Rebelion." LC *Transcripts*, 25. Admiralty In-Letters, 482, 217.

[3] *Infra.*

[4] Bernard wrote to Barrington, April 20, 1768: "Yesterday I received your Lordship's Letter recommending Mr Chaumier: Immediately after

entries, a part of the very air they breathed, that on February 12, 1768,[1] the Commissioners wrote two notable letters, one to the Lords of the Treasury,[2] and the other to Commodore Hood,[3] commanding officer on the North Atlantic station, quartered at Halifax. In both appeals they stressed the need of ships and men to support them in collecting the revenue and to put an end to the illicit practices that had become entirely too casual.[4] The "second memorial" which Jared Sparks[5] found among papers of the Board of Trade, of date March 28, 1768, has now been copied, and an examination of that and related documents will throw light upon the administrative confusion of the Grafton regime. Unless the customs establishment could be upheld by something more than naked authority there was slight chance of making effective their control of the routes of trade.[6] The pressure of an armed force was the thing needful, and if Government wanted to put through a political policy it was now the duty of Government to make good their assurances that the king would brook no trifling on the part of his American subjects. There were other memorials, as on March 4[7] and as late as on May 12,[8] but so slow was the transit of official dispatches that we cannot be sure the first of these Macedonian calls reached London until early in May. News items must have seeped in through private correspondence by the latter part of April,[9] but the actual text

---

which I had an Opportunity of shewing my Desire of serving him by removing some Difficulties in the way of his obtaining an Indulgence from the Board of Customs, which I hope has been effectually done. *Barrington-Bernard Correspondence,* 153.

[1] The day after the famous Massachusetts "Circular Letter."

[2] See p. 263, *infra.*

[3] See p. 278, *infra.*

[4] Several additional letters exchanged by Hood and the Commissioners are in *LC Transcripts,* 25 (PRO, Admiralty, Secretary, In-Letters, 483, Part I).

[5] Sparks MSS. (Harvard College Library) *Minutes,* 43, III. 190.

[6] "The Officers of the Crown & Friends of the British Government are now in a distressed State, hoping that, but not knowing how or when, they shall be relieved." Bernard to Barrington, *Correspondence,* April 20, 1768, 153.

[7] Commissioners of Customs to Commodore Hood, L.C. *Transcripts,* 25.

[8] PRO, Treasury, Class 1, 465. 330. 333.

[9] See Barrington to Bernard, April 16, 1768, *Correspondence,* 150, and Venner to Bradshaw, February 8, 1768 (received April 19), PRO, Treasury, Class 1, 465. 147.

of the memorial of February 12 apparently did not reach Hillsborough until May 7;[1] and while there may have been spasmodic but rather indefinite dispatches like that to Gage of April 23,[2] it seems he was not stung to action until receipt of the "duplicate" on June 4.[3] With the latter lending fresh emphasis to reports of Bernard, the secretary for America may have had a sudden access of that "prudence firmness & temper" [4] for which he had been so warmly commended. It may have been due to intervention on the part of the king himself, but in any case on June 8 Hillsborough ordered Gage to send troops to Boston,[5] on June 10 he sent Dispatch No. 10 to Bernard,[6] and on June 11 he made requisition on the Admiralty for an adequate naval force.[7] The mills of ministerial officialdom had begun to grind, but we have only to follow the record to see with what extreme slowness they functioned. Really it is no wonder historians have felt there was an air of mystery over Gage's neglect to carry out the order of June 8; although it becomes clear from his letter of September 7 that the missing order did not reach him until early that month.[8]

As of August 31 he wrote Bernard: "I am now to acquaint you I have received orders." [9] Instructions had then to be communicated to Dalrymple at Halifax, and when difficulties of travel are considered it is matter of no surprise that Hood, while for months anticipating positive moves, was in no position to release possible transports for troops within reach of Halifax until on September 11 [10] he received the letter from

[1] Bradshaw to Phelps, May 7, 1768, shows receipt of copy of the February 12 memorial by Hillsborough's office the same day. PRO, Colonial, Class 5, 757. 119.

[2] Hillsborough to Gage, PRO, Colonial, Class 5, 241. 58–59.

[3] See p. 271, *infra*.

[4] Barrington to Bernard, April 16, 1768, *Correspondence*, 151.

[5] A third extraordinary Budget, &c. (1769), 1–2. The same letter (Dispatch No 7) is in PRO, Colonial, Class 5, 241. 73–74.

[6] *Bernard Papers*, XI. (Correspondence).

[7] PRO, Colonial, Class 5, 757. 165.

[8] Hillsborough expressed surprise that on August 20 Gage had not received his Dispatch No. 7 of June 8. See Hillsborough's No. 13 to Gage, October 12, 1768, in Gay *Transcripts* (State Papers), XI. 50.

[9] *Bernard Papers*, XI (*Correspondence*), 287.

[10] Hood to Stephens (Admiralty), September 15, 1768.—". . . Directing Dalrymple to embark 1002." In LC *Transcripts*, 25.

Gage directing Dalrymple to embark. Naturally enough, the admiralty order of June 11 had been received only the previous day, on September 10.[1] And as an officer of experience, Gage felt obliged to proceed with no undue haste. He had told Hillsborough this was a "Country where every man studies Law, and interprets the Laws as suits his purposes."[2] The general had to bear in mind certain legal restraints upon the use of troops. As late as July 11, he wrote Bernard: "It is needless for me to acquaint you, that it is contrary to the Laws and Constitution for Troops to have to quell Tumults and Riots, unless Military Aid is required for those Purposes by the Civil Power, and that even then, the Troops cannot act by their own Authority, but are under the Commands of the Civil Power, and must act solely in obedience thereto."[3] But for Hood there was not the same need for restraint. It was late in March when he received the Commissioners' appeal, and quite promptly, on the 29th, he sent the *Hope* to Boston, her commander, Captain Dawson, bearing assurances that the *Romney* Man-of-War[4] would be fitted and equipped for the service. On May 6 the *Romney* sailed, and in Boston she arrived May 17.

Meanwhile, there were happenings in the three-hilled town on Massachusetts Bay. John Hancock, whom Hood was to call "the richest man in the Country and the Known Abettor of Tumultuous proceedings,"[5] among others was pursuing his import and export trade with as much diligence as political distraction would permit. He, too, was not unacquainted with "indulgences." On January 20 he had ordered wine to be brought from Madeira in his sloop *Liberty* after she had delivered a cargo in an English port.[6] On April 8 Hancock had baffled the customs officers in landing from the

[1] *Ib.* "Happy that what I have done has corresponded so exactly."

[2] October 31, 1768, in *Copies of Letters from Governor Bernard, &c, to the Earl of Hillsborough* (1769), 25. See also the opinion of De Grey, Attorney General, cited in Bancroft (1854 ed.), VI. 206.

[3] *Bernard Papers,* XI, (*Correspondence*), 231.

[4] See "State and Condition of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under the Command of Commodore Hood in North America," May 5, 1768, in LC *Transcripts,* 25. PRO, Admiralty In-Letters.

[5] Hood to Philip Stephens (Admiralty Secretary), July 11, 1768 in LC *Transcripts,* 25.

[6] *Infra.*

brigantine *Lydia* a "customable" cargo and had further secured from Sewall, the advocate-general, a ruling favorable to his contention.[1] The Malcom cases,[2] and now the *Lydia* misadventure, alike damaging to the prestige of Bernard and the revenue establishment, were coupled as issues during the spring of 1768. The *Liberty* arrived quietly on May 9, and for more than thirty days gave no occasion for outward political excitement. The other important arrival in May was the *Romney*, "a fine new 50-Gun ship."[3] The revenue officers were disappointed over what they regarded as an entirely inadequate display, but it was notification none the less that the Hillsborough program was beginning to move. From that time on, political happenings ensued with swiftness, and not without seething unrest on the part of the inhabitants.[4] "We have been in a frenzy for six or seven weeks without any lucid interval," wrote Thomas Hutchinson late in July to a correspondent in Halifax, and there was ground for the remark.[5]

Hardly had the commander of the *Romney* dropped anchor off the Boston wharves, when he began exploiting the sea-dog manners of the period. Hutchinson's temperate state-

[1] The affair of the *Lydia* the writer hopes to make the subject of a later paper. There are several papers in the Public Record Office bearing on the case, in Treasury, Class 1, Bundle 465. fos. 348, 351–352, 354–355, 356–357, 358; Bundle 466, fo. 275; and Bundle 468. fos. 164–166.

[2] "Malcom" was the spelling used by Malcolm himself in his affidavit *re* the revenue raid on his premises in 1766. See Lee MSS., III. for ten affidavits of eyewitnesses, including Malcom.

[3] John Lees, *Journal* (1768) in Gay *Transcripts*, Miscellaneous Papers, III. 9.

[4] Hutchinson to "Mr. Grant," July 27, 1768, Mass. Archives, XXVI. 317.

[5] Bernard could offer the following explanation: "It has been the Subject of Wonder how the Faction which harrasses this Town and through it the whole Continent, which is known to consist of very few of the lowest kind of Gentry and is directed by 3 or 4 persons bankrupt in Reputation as well as in Property, should be able to keep in Subjection the Inhabitants of such a Town as this, who possess an hundred Times the Credit and Property (I might say much more) of those who rule them with a Rod of Iron. This Paradox is at once solved by showing that this Town is governed by the lowest of the People and from the Time of the Stamp Act to this Hour has been and is in the Hands of the Mob . . ."

Dispatch to Hillsborough, May 19, 1768. *Bernard Papers* (*Letter Books*), VI. 301–302.

It should be remembered this was an official report of the Governor of Massachusetts to the Secretary of State for America and designed for the King's own information.

ment to Jackson on June 16 is evidence that impressment of seamen, rather than the seizure of John Hancock's goods, was perhaps the genesis of what happened; but it is to be kept in mind that "pressing" was the ministerialists' vulnerable point, and that it was no part of Whig policy to lay stress upon Hancock's uncustomed wines. "It is unfortunate," wrote Hutchinson,[1] "that in the midst of these difficulties the *Romney* has been impressing seamen out of all inward-bound vessels and although he does not take men belonging to the Province who have families, yet the fear of it prevents coasters as well as other vessels coming in freely, and it adds more fewel to the great stock among us before. It is pity that in peaceable times any pressing of seamen should be allowed in the colonies. If it was not, I believe the commanders would not have so many deserters as they now have."

While the House of Representatives was taking measures "to prevent the Lives Libertys & Estates of His Majesty's subjects being put into further danger" from the *Romney*,[2] and a committee of the Council was examining into the conduct of Captain Corner and his officers,[3] the sloop *Liberty*

[1] Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, June 16, 1768, Mass. Archives, XXVI. 311. Jackson was dismissed as agent for Massachusetts Bay, February 6, 1767. *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, XVIII. (*Resolves, etc.*), Ch. 121, p. 173. Dr. Johnson called him "all-knowing." He was made a lord of the Treasury in Shelburne's ministry, July, 1782.

[2] In Mass. Archives, CX. 336, is the message of the House of Representatives to Governor Bernard, June 4, 1768, complaining of press gangs from the *Romney* and asking for "the Reliefe of such Persons as may be injured in the Manner before expressed, and to prevent the Lives Libertys and Estates of his Majesty's Subjects being put into further danger."

[3] Captain Corner of the *Romney* in his turn complained "of sundry Insults, and Abuses offered to some of the Officers of the said Ship, last Sunday Evening [June 5]," and William Brattle, James Bowdoin, and Royall Tyler, a committee of the Council appointed to confer with him, made report under date of June 16 that only eighteen men had been "impressed and detained," and that "it might be relied on that no man should be taken from any Coasting Vessel whatever coming from New York or Connecticut, or any Place to the Northward of them as far as Quebec: That with regard to other Vessels (if she should want more Men) he would not take any one married in the Province or belonging to it, and in Case any such should happen to be taken he would immediately release them on receiving a Certificate from his Excellency the Governor, or any two Gentlemen of the Council, that such men belong to this Province." *Ib.* LXVI. 438–441.

In affidavit of Richard Reeve and Thomas Irving there is record of insults to officers boarding the *Hope*, April 17, 1768. PRO, Treasury. Class 1. Bundle 465. fo. 256.

was lying at John Hancock's wharf taking on an outward cargo of twenty barrels of tar and two hundred barrels of oil.[1] She had reached port not only with Madeira wine for her owner,[2] but with private invoices also, the latter on carriage for sundry gentlemen, including Harrison Gray, the province treasurer.[3] Hallowell, who was still comptroller of the customs, testified before the Treasury Board in London — and as to material facts of the "entry" his evidence is not controverted — that two revenue officers had been put aboard the *Liberty* on arrival, and that on May 10 the master of the vessel made an entry of twenty-five casks of wine only. It had been commonly reported that the *Liberty* carried a much larger quantity and Hallowell alleged he had heard Hancock himself declare before the arrival of the sloop that he would run her cargo on shore.[4] At first the revenue officers charged with watching the vessel gave no information; they were examined, and said there had been no wine run out of the ship. On the 10th of June, however, Thomas Kirk, one of the said officers, gave an information upon oath that the evening of the 9th of May, the day she arrived, Hancock's captain made proposals to him to consent to the hoisting out several casks of wine that night before the vessel was entered; that he peremptorily refused — upon which Captain Marshall took hold of him and with the assistance of five or six other persons unknown forced him into the cabin and nailed the cover down. He was confined, he said, about three hours, during which time he heard a noise of many people on deck at work hoisting out goods, and that he distinctly heard the noise of the tackles; that when that noise ceased Captain Marshall went down to him in the cabin and threatened that if he disclosed what had happened that night his life would be in danger, and his property destroyed.

[1] In Hancock's Letter Book is reference to an item of marine underwriting, — "£2000 Insurce by Smith Ship *Liberty*." £2086.17.6 "Lawful Money" was figured by Hancock as the equivalent of £1565.3.2 in Sterling. See entry for March 30, 1768.

[2] Hancock had previously ordered wine from Madeira on November 12, 1767, to be brought in the Sloop *Betsy* but that vessel was "cast away on Cape Cod." See Letter Book.

[3] Province Treasurer, June 22, 1753 to Revolution; became a refugee.

[4] See Peter Oliver, *The Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion*, in Gay *Transcripts*, 95–96.

Captain Marshall then went away, having set the said Kirk at liberty, but the latter was so much "intimidated by the aforesaid threatenings,"[1] that he made no immediate report. The death of Captain Marshall, it was said from over-exertion, was doubtless a factor in Kirk's sudden resolution, later on, to give his account of what had transpired.[1] The other officer said he was asleep, but Kirk declared his colleague was drunk, and had gone home to bed. Kirk's information[2] was laid before the Board of Customs the 10th of June by Joseph Harrison, Collector of the Port, and the Board directed the latter to take the opinion of Mr. Lisle, their solicitor, and Mr. Lisle advised the seizing of the vessel.[3] Hulton, chairman of the Board, advised Harrison that as matter of precaution the vessel when seized[4] should be delivered in charge of Captain Corner, commander of the *Romney* man-of-war.[5]

According to Hallowell,[6] many persons, and particularly Dr. Warren, had cautioned him that if a seizure were made there would be a great uproar, and Dr. Warren added that he could not be answerable for the consequences. The captain of the *Romney* was applied to in the name of the Collector and Comptroller to send a boat to assist in making seizure. The mooring of the vessel was thrown off by the

[1] Mr. *Hancock* . . . lost one of his best Captains of his Vessells, by over-heating himself on that Night, who died with a Fever about 3 or 4 Days after. These are some of the Effects of Mr. *Hancock's* Vanity and Patriotism; and when he may view the List of his Crimes, with Rebellion bringing up the Rear, he may, possibly, blush to find that Vanity & *Sam Adams* had plunged him into Offences of so deep a Dye." Peter Oliver in *Gay* transcripts, 96.

[2] Affidavit of Thomas Kirk in *Letters to the Ministry* (1769), 91.

[3] A letter of D. Lisle to Thomas Bradshaw, May 14, 1768, is in PRO, Treasury. Class 1. Bundle 465. fo. 254.

[4] "That a Vessel seized the 10th Instant had been in an unprecedented Manner carried away from the Wharf where she lay, by Armed Boats belonging to the *Romney* Man of War under his Command. . . .

"With regard to the Seizure, he [Capt. Corner] informed the Committee, he had given his Assistance in Consequence of an Application made to him by the Officers of the Revenue. That by several Acts of Parliament, and by his Instructions he was obliged to do it; and that had he refused he should have incurred a severe Penalty and the Loss of his Commission." Report of Committee of the Council, Mass. Archives, LXVI. 439, 440.

[5] See *infra* for Captain Corner's "instructions."

[6] *Infra, n.* 6, p. 253.

Romney's company; and when they were hauling it in, the mob laid hold of the ropes and pelted officers and seamen with stones so that the latter felt obliged to tow the sloop under the stern of the war-vessel. So much, for the present, for Hallowell's testimony.[1] Hutchinson wrote to Jackson on the 16th that the customs officers had differed in opinion, Harrison thinking the *Liberty* might safely lie at the wharf after she had had the broad arrow, but Hallowell had considered it best to move her under the guns of the *Romney,* a quarter of a mile from the shore.[2] Much was made of this point, and there exists a curious letter signed by one John Powell purporting to show on the authority of Paxton, one of the Board, that the seizure was an enterprise of Hallowell and Harrison, especially Hallowell — an assertion that Harrison took pains promptly to deny.[3] There is also a friendly letter of William Molineaux,[4] a prominent Boston merchant radical, offering sympathy to Harrison. In any case, the Board, Temple alone excepted, assumed full responsibility after they had withdrawn to the Castle.

Hutchinson's account to Jackson [5] proceeds to tell of further occurrences the evening of the seizure:

"A mob presently gathered [6] and insulted the Custom

[1] In Mass. Archives, LXVI. 443–444, is a fragment of a report read to the Council June 14 "respectg the seizure of [the *Liberty*] Vessel in the harbor of Boston," afterwards accepted [June 29] after several paragraphs had been deleted. This document refers to "the Violence and Unprecedentedness of the Procedure with regard to the carrying off said vessel, and the Reflection implied thereby upon the Inhabitants of the Town, as disposed to rescue any seizure that might be made, . . ." and assigns to that "Procedure" an amount of blame for disorders that followed.

[2] Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, June 16, 1768, in Mass. Archives, XXVI. 310–312.

[3] Letter to Harrison, June 13, 1768, signed "J. P.," *Chalmers Papers* (Harvard College Library), III. 2.

[4] *Ib.* III. 1.

[5] Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, June 16, 1768, in Mass. Archives, XXVI. 310–312.

[6] See "Corrections in the Examination of Mr. Hallowell, on 21st July, 1768" in "A third extraordinary Budget" &c., 6–7. "The Captain of the *Romney* was applied to in the Name of the *Collector only.*" "The Collector *only,* desired the Officer of the *Romney* to take Possession of the Vessel for her Security." "The Master of the *Romney into whose charge the Seizure was delivered,*" instead of, "The Master of the *Romney who made the Seizure.*"

See *Letters to the Ministry,* 93, for affidavit of Richard Acklom Harrison.

House officers, and coerced them as trespassers up the wharffe tore their clothes, and bruised and other-ways hurt them until one after another they escaped. The mob increased to 2 or 3000 chiefly sturdy boys and negroes and broke the windows of the Comptroller's house and then the Inspector William's and then went in search of the Man-of-war's boats which not finding they took a boat belonging to Mr. Harrison the Collector, dragged her into the Common and burnt her and about one o'clock dispersed.[1] This was Friday. Saturday and Sunday evenings are sacred. Monday it was supposed would produce something more important. . . ." There was evidence that in scurrying away Hallowell pointed to Harrison as the instigator, and Harrison and his son bore the brunt of the melée. Harrison was himself left on the ground covered with blood, and the son was knocked down and dragged by the hair of his head.

While Hutchinson was assisting Bernard by writing private reports to the Duke of Grafton, Lord Adam Gordon, Thomas Whateley, William Bollan, Israel Mauduit, Thomas Pownall, and others in London,[2] the governor was himself occupied with detailed official dispatches to Lord Hillsborough. Looking through his magisterial glasses it was not simply a "Riot," it was a "Great Riot"; and in general there was much more color than Hutchinson would have been likely to employ at that time; but there are details in Bernard's letters that do not appear elsewhere. Instead, however, of the two or three thousand gathered in a mob Bernard uses the expression, — "about 500 some say 1000."

[1] See "Information" of Richard Silvester, sworn before Thomas Hutchinson. "The informant went up to one of the parties and Mr. Samuel Adams . . . happened to join the same party near about that same instant of time trembling and in great agitation. The party consisted of about Seven in Number, who were unknown to the informant, he having but little Acquaintance with the Inhabitants, or if any of them were known he cannot now recollect them. The informant heard the Samuel Adams then say to the said Party — 'If you are Men behave like Men; let us take up arms immediately and be free and Seize all the King's officers. We shall have thirty thousand Men to join Us from the Country.' The informant then walked off believing his company was disagreeable." There are other references to Samuel Adams in the affidavit. *Chalmers Papers*, III. 1.

[2] Mass. Archives, XXVI. 311, 312.

Whilst the Boat was burning some gentlemen who had an influence over them persuaded them to depart; this was debated and put to the vote. Whereupon Proclamation was made "each man to his Tent;" before this they were harangued by a leader; who among other used these words as they have been reported to me, "We will support our Liberties depending upon the strength of our own arms and God." Whilst they were upon the Common they got some rum and attempted to get more; if they had procured it in quantity God knows where this Fury would have ended. And now the Terror of the Night is over, it is said to be only a Prelude to greater Mischiefs; the threats against the Commissioners and all the officers of the Board being renewed with as great malice as ever.[1]

Richard Frothingham mentions Hancock as present while the boat was burning; "the inference," he says "is a fair one, that Hancock, Samuel Adams, and Joseph Warren reached there together."[2]

By Saturday, June 11, Bernard was running true to form. Continuing his report, "This morning I got the Council together as soon as I could, and laid the affair before them. After a long altercation about what should be done, in which appeared a Disposition to meddle with it as little as possible, It was advised and ordered that such of the Council as were Justices should assist me in ascertaining the Facts by the Examination of Witnesses. . . ."[3]

It was in respect of the Council that Bernard had exclaimed — "This is a Devil of a Constitution!"[4] There

[1] Bernard to Hillsborough, June 11, 1768. *Bernard Papers* (*Letter Books*), VI. 313.

[2] *Life and Times of Joseph Warren*, 58. Lord Hillsborough was also president of the board of trade. See Hillsborough to Bernard, July 4, 1768, *Bernard Papers*, XI. 211. The minister replied to Bernard's representations with instructions to remove all the officers of the peace "Known to be infected with Principles of Disaffection"; that for any overt Act that might justify transportation to England the accused should be tried under 35 Henry VIII, cap. 2; and that certain protection against impressment enacted in Queen Anne's reign had expired!

[3] *Bernard Letter Books*, VI. 313. Several affidavits taken before the Council, Daniel Malcom's among them, are in *The American Gazette* (1768), II. 97–111, *et seq.*

[4] February 6, 1765. *Bernard Papers* (*Letter Books*), III. 274.

Hutchinson to [pencil note "To Gov. Pownall"], June 7, 1768, in Mass. Archives, XXV. 262.

Ib. 262.

never was a body so ready to take depositions! And leading all the deponents was Daniel Malcolm of the North End. A few days earlier Hutchinson named him as a principal subscriber of an address to Mr. Wilkes thanking him for the glorious confusion he is pulling the government into at home and praying he would afford his Boston friends his "encouragement in the like measures here." Hutchinson sadly complained that his office-keeper had christened a child "John Wilkes" and that "No. 45" was figured on its breast. "From this State of Anarchy," added Hutchinson, "good Lord deliver first you and then us!" And now Daniel Malcom, giving testimony of his leading part in the June 10 affair in which Hallowell was not this time to be bested, was once more named in dispatches. In September Bernard castigated a Grand Jury for including among its members several abettors of the Boston mob, and "particularly the famous Capt. Malcom, who having twice in a forcible Manner set the Laws of Trade at Defiance with Success, has thereby raised himself to be a Mob Captain, and was actually the raiser of the Mob which abused the Custom House Officers on the 10th of June last. This Man was thought a fit Person to be upon a Grand Jury before whom his own Riots were to be enquired into."[1]

On the afternoon of Monday bills were put up notifying the Sons of Liberty to meet the next day at 10 o'clock at Liberty Hall, or Liberty Tree, which, as Hutchinson says, "was all one."[2] "At the appointed time," continued Hutchinson, "the Rabble met, but it being a rainy day they adjourned to Faneuil Hall where it was proposed to send Constables to notify a legal Town Meeting for the afternoon at the South Church, the Hall not being large enough. Accordingly . . . they chose Otis their Moderator who after haranguing them some time from the Pulpit suffered them to harangue one another until they had agreed upon an Address to the Governor, the most extraordinary thing that has yet appeared, and appointed 21 of their number to wait on him with it and then adjourned to the next day for an answer."[2] That was the Impressment

[1] *Bernard Papers* (Letter Books), VII. 25.
[2] Mass. Archives, XXVI. 310.

Meeting, on the 14th,[1] at which there was little reference to the seizure of the *Liberty* on the 10th. The *Boston News-Letter*[2] had a little more than a column on the whole episode, a meticulous account, but not colorful; it was political strategy to let the crown officers[3] put in the thrills![4]

Joshua Henshaw's letters[5] and the governor's full reports on the 14th and 16th are interesting reading.[6] Of the twenty-two carriages and chaises owned in Boston[7] eleven travelled out to Bernard's country place sloping down to the south-west shore of Jamaica Pond; John Hancock with James Otis at his side led the procession in his phaeton. We are told the committee made a splendid appearance, that the governor found the company, in general, very respectable, that he received them with all possible civility. He had wine handed round, and they left, highly pleased with their reception; "especially that part of them which had not been used to an Interview with me."[8] Almost, that day's procedure "broke" Governor Bernard with his royal chief.[9]

[1] *Boston Records,* XVI. 253–259.

[2] No. 3376. June 16, 1768.

[3] "Observing that there was no account in any of the Newspapers of the riot on fryday Night [July 15] or the meeting at the Town house on Saturday I asked the reason of it & was told that the Sons of Liberty had forbid all the printers publishing any thing of it. *If the King's* Government should assume such a power, what would they say?" Bernard to Hillsborough, July 19, 1768. *Bernard Papers* (*Letter Books*), VII. 10.

[4] "It is only natural to ask where the Justices and Sheriffs are upon these occasions. The persons who are to assist the Sheriff in the execution of his Office are Sons of Liberty and determined to oppose him in everything w^ch^ shall be contrary to their Schemes. Some of the Justices are great favourers of them and those who are not are afraid of being sacrificed by them and will issue out no warrants to apprehend them. Let an Officer behave ever so ill even if he was to abet the Disorders he ought to suppress I do not think it would be practicable to remove him seeing it cannot be done without the advice of C[ouncil] and they would be afraid to give the advice." — Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, June 16, 1768, Mass. Archives, XXVI. 311.

[5] June 15 and 22, 1768. M. H. S. *Transcripts* printed in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.* XXII. 402–403, 452.

[6] *Bernard Papers* (Letter Books), VI. 315–323.

[7] M. H. S. *Proceedings,* 2nd series, I. 225.

[8] *Bernard Papers* (*Letter Books*), VI. 321.

[9] "I have been of no small service to Gov^r^. Bernard, his public speech, and some other matters that had the appearance of giving way to the

But with such moments the governor alternated periods of near panic. The day of the impressment meeting he haled Hutchinson to Jamaica Farm, fearing it would be necessary for the governor also to withdraw to the Castle.[1] And a few weeks later he had sent an express to Hutchinson at Exeter where the latter was holding court as chief justice.[2] There are many collateral matters that are inviting, such as Bernard's gleeful report of a row between Otis and Samuel Adams over the address to Lord Hillsborough; the languishing in exile of the Commissioners of the Customs "content to behold the pleasant land afar off"; the devious finesse on the part of Bernard in toying with requisitions for troops;[3] and how his regularity in reporting "Riots" that according to the other side were the excursions of boys after cherries, was only exceeded by readiness to pack his bag for departure,[4] to importune Lord Barrington for promotion, and to patronize Harvard College. See *Boston Gazette,* May 1, 1769. One file of correspondence in particular discloses in Thomas Gage a hard customer for

---

populace had like to have done him great injury, and so much, when he would have recovered I do not know. I did not urge his tarrying at Boston, if a better place could be provided for him, but with°, by all means to continue him. It is doubted much his want of Spirit in conducting in these new measures. For God-sake if he has a regard for himself let him take care how he errs too much on the side of popular clamour, his ceeding to J. Hancock & his answer to the town meeting was of no service to him. Pray be as little communicative as possible about matters, send for Judge Auchmuty and advise with him in any case you have occasion. I know him to be a good Man, let him know this ab^{t} the Gov^{r} but no body else. I know more than I dare say.—dated 31 July 68" Anonymous letter, in *Bernard Papers,* XI. 253. (Sparks MSS. Harvard College Library).

[1] Mass. Archives, XXVI. 311.

[2] *Ib.* 313. Memorandum signed "J. C." [John Corner] as of July 7, 1768, reports a plan to "storm both the Castle and his Majesty's Ships," in LC *Transcripts,* 25, Admiralty, Secretary In-Letters.

[3] "I have kept quite clear of the applying or sending for Troops; and I am not knowing of the Orders which are gone to Halifax; I have publickly declared in Council that I have not and I will not make any such Application unless they advise it." Bernard to Jackson, July 11, 1768. *Bernard Papers* (Letter Books), VI. 133–134.

[4] "I carried my Expectations so far as to engage a Cabbin and fix upon a Day for embarking." Bernard to John Pownall, September 20, 1768. *Bernard Papers* (Letter Books), VI. 146.

the often shifty Francis Bernard.[1] But these are subjects in themselves. Sheafs of original papers, all bearing on the few days in June when the forfeiture of the *Liberty* was a live issue, will have to be left for another occasion.

The later efforts of the Commissioners to justify their flight from the town to the Castle, and the testimonial in their behalf signed by the governor, lieutenant-governor, and secretary of the province, together with the judge of the court of Vice-Admiralty, throw light on certain features of the episode.[2] Another cargo seizure, early in July, illustrates manœuvering on the part of the leaders of the popular party. Hutchinson wrote to Jackson, July 14, 1768:

The gov^{t}. never was so tyrannical even under Dudley & Andros in the Reign of K. James as it is at pres^{t}. No body dares write anything contrary to the Prevailing Princip and Some give out that it is time for every man to be open & declare his Principles. A little Anecdote will show you in whose hands the Authority lies. Ten days or a fortn. ago a Sloop and about 30 Cask of Molasses were seized for a false entry. The seizure remained secure under guard of a Waiter or two for a week or more. At length a number of men came on board in the night confined the Waiters and carried off the Molasses. It had been the general cry upon the seizure of Hancock's Vessel that it was the bold conduct of the officers in unnecessarily removing her to the Man of War which caused a Mob and that She might have remained secure without any danger of a rescue. Upon this Rescue the Custom h. Officers urged that it was evident that what had been done before was no more than a necessary Security. The Selectmen of the Town finding what use would be made of it interposed their Authority and by some means or other obliged or prevailed upon the Owner of the seized vessel to Return all the Molasses on board again the next day after

[1] *Bernard Papers*, XI. (*Correspondence*), 205–206, 209, 231–232, 287–290, 297.

[2] See *infra*. Capt. Corner petitioned the admiralty for £150 sterling for "great expence . . . ocassioned by the Peculiarity of the Service I was employed on from the Day I arriv'd here May the 17th to . . . October the 1st . . . not only by Receiving on board the Commissioners of the Customs and other Officers of the Revenue but also by the (almost) Continual Resort of the Servants of the Crown &c. [*sic*] On board on Bussiness during that Time." LC *Transcripts* 25 (Admiralty, Secretary, In-Letters).

it had been rescued. I don't know that all the authority of the Gov. besides could have effected the same thing.[1]

It was after the affair of the molasses schooner that the governor wrote: "Every seizure made or attempted to be made at Boston for 3 years past, before these two instances, has been violently rescued or prevented."[2]

Hallowell sailed from Boston on his urgent errand, on June 20,[3] and he reached London July 18. Before the Lords of the Treasury his evidence was given in on July 20.[4] The record gives also his testimony intended to cover efforts by certain individuals to set right the manner of seizing the *Liberty*, and these points should be given full weight in judging the course taken by officers of the revenue.

In the admiralty case against the sloop *Liberty*, a decree of forfeiture was entered, but the decree itself has not been found. The whole matter was referred to the Attorney-General in London. He gave it as an opinion that a vessel unlading without a true and perfect inventory was a cause of seizure and forfeiture, but in this case the difficulty was in the nature of Kirk's evidence, who did not *see* the unlad-

[1] Hutchinson to R. Jackson, July 14, 1768. Mass. Archives, XXVI. 313.

[2] Bernard to Hillsborough, July 9, 1768. *Bernard Papers* (Letter Books), VI. 327. Under the provisions of the revenue acts the king, the governor, and those who "informed" or brought process were entitled to equal thirds of the forfeiture proceeds. See Bernard to W. Parker, July 25, 1765, in *Bernard Papers*, for instance, when Bernard complained that a seizure was advertised in New Hampshire, instead of in Massachusetts,—"for Plumb [sic] Island is in Massachusetts!"

[3] See "Memorial of the Commissioners of the Customs, June 16th, 1768, and several Papers thereunto annexed," in *Letters to the Ministry* (1769), 85–105. A list of these papers, 24 in number, is in PRO, Treasury. Class 1. Bundle 465. fo. 65.

[4] See "Copy of Examination of Mr. Hallowell, at the Treasury Board. July 21st, 1768" in *A third extraordinary Budget*, 2–5. See also *supra*, 17 *n.* Certified copy of Hallowell's testimony at the Treasury is in *Lee* MSS. (Harvard College Library), I. 40. Hallowell testified that Hancock had at first verbally agreed to produce the *Liberty* later if she was returned to his wharf on Monday, but that on Sunday evening after a conference with Samuel Adams, James Otis, Dr. Warren, and others at Hancock's house it was the decision to let proceedings take their course. Hallowell further said that the customs officers would have had no objection to taking Hancock's bond and would have made "the affair easy to him." Harrison and Hallowell, "as a Measure of Policy," had both put in writing a recommendation to turn the *Liberty* back to Hancock. See *Letters to the Ministry*, 97–98.

ing because of his confinement below, and therefore could not testify from positive knowledge. This opinion was conveyed to Bernard with a covering letter under date of August 13.[1] The suit, defended by John Adams, was studied with exceeding thoroughness by Horace Gray, Jr.,[2] and it was Mr. Gray who called attention to the subsequent use of the *Liberty* as a revenue cutter,[3] she having been purchased under admiralty proceedings on behalf of the Customs Commissioners,[4] and to her destruction by the irate inhabitants of Newport.[5]

From the records of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, Province of Massachusetts Bay,[6] it appears that in the action against Hancock personally,[7] and against the mob leaders, March 25th, 1769, the advocate-general prayed "Leave to retract the Information" and wrote across the record, "Our Sovereign Lord the King will prosecute no further hereon." And it was "Allow'd."

[1] *Bernard Papers*, XI. (*Correspondence*). 285.

[2] Quincy's Massachusetts Reports, 1761–1772 (1865), 456–463.

[3] See Commissioners of the Customs to Lords of the Treasury, July 28, 1769— ". . . We had purchased the Sloop *Liberty*, seized and condemned in the Court of Vice Admty, and that we should employ her in cruizing along the different parts of the coast for the prevention of illicit trade . . . The loss to the Crown cannot yet be exactly ascertained. The first Cost of the Sloop *Liberty* amounts to £102.15.0½ & the expences of fitting her out to £813.18.9 Sterling . . ." LC *Transcripts*, 227 [C. O. Class 5].

[4] "I have repeatedly declared that I thought much of this expense unadvisable particularly what was incurred on account of the sloop *Liberty*, £1500 at least, lost and gone! This sum would have maintained three smaller vessels and each capable of being as serviceable as that sloop. All the disbursements at Castle William I considered in the same light, and by no means proper to be charged upon the revenue, likewise the presents made to Capt. Corner, with many other articles . . ." John Temple to the Duke of Grafton, October 25, 1769. Temple *Transcripts*, W27.27.24.

"Of the numerous appointments that have been made by our Board at the separate ports and for the sloop *Liberty*, etc., etc., some necessary and some unnecessary, I have not had the nomination of a single one . . ." *Ib.* W27.27.27.

[5] See LC *Transcripts*, 227 [C. O. Class 5] for papers relating details of destroying the "Liberty" at Newport, R. I., July 19, 1769. Hancock named a sloop, the next year the "Rising Liberty." *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, XXVII. 404.

[6] In the clerk's office of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts for Suffolk County.

[7] See Andrew Oliver's Letter Book in Gay *Transcripts*, I. 46–47.

In the case of Joseph Harrison, Esq., *versus* Sloop *Liberty*, appears in small characters an inconspicuous cross indorsement, — "Nov. 9th 1768. paid the Gov^r his Third." Not in the gravest posture of affairs in a rebellious province could it be lost sight of that the governor was entitled to his full share of the forfeited goods!

JOHN HANCOCK TO HILL, LAMAR & BISSETT, MADEIRA

BOSTON Jan 20, 1767 [68]

GEN^t. I wrote you by way of London that I should send a Vessell to you for some Wines which Letter hope you will have Receiv'd. this goes by the Sloop Liberty Nath Barnard Master to your address. and Inclos'd you have Inv^o. and Bill of Lading of a few Articles ship'd by him for my Account which on its arrival with you I pray you will dispose of to the best advantage and Credit my Account with the Neat proceeds and am to desire you will please to ship me by my Sloop Liberty the following Wines vizt Four pipes of the very best sterling Madeira Wine that you can possibly procure for my own Table. I do not stand for price I like a Rich Wine, and if in addition to the four pipes you can Ship me a pipe of Right Sterling Old Madeira pale and good you will send it me cost what it may. I need say no more than that they are for my own use and I pray they may be the very best mark them I H N^o. 1 and on and pray distinguish them from any others on board. You will please also to ship me four pipes and four Quarter Cask of good saleable Madeira Wines for our Markett I would have them good and such as would suit our publick Houses where the best Company Resorts mark them IK and do let them be of good Quality.

You will please also to ship by my Sloop two pipes of the best Madeira Wine consign'd to me in Seperate Inv^o. and Bill Lading specifying the freight mark them HGT they are for the Treasurer of our Province & you will please to let them be good.

The Neat proceeds of the Articles ship'd by Cap^t. Barnard you will invest in those Wines and for the Ballance you will please to Bills on my Friend George Hayley Esq. Merchant in London to whom I have wrote to honour your Bill. I beg that the Wines for my own use may be of the very best kind. And if Bills will purchase Better Wines than can be procured with the Articles ship'd by Barnard, I should choose you should invest the Neat proceeds of them in Saleable Wines and draw for the Amount of

my Wines tho' I should wish it was as agreeable to you to draw for the Ballance. I leave it to you only let my Wines be good.

Mess. Jon^{a}. and Jn^{o}. Amory write you for two pipes of Wine to be sent in my Sloop and they desire you to draw on their Friends Messrs. Harrison, Barnard & Spragg for their Cost in Compliance with their Request to me as they are Strangers to you I am to acquaint you that you may Rely their Bills will meet with due honour and that they are Gentlemen of Character and Reputation here.

I shall be much oblige if you or any of your Friends should have any freight to ship this way that would give my Sloop the preference she is a good Vessell and well found. I shall also be obliged to you to give Cap^{t}. Barnard any advice or assist^{ce}. he may need.

I shall be glad you will send me two bushells Madeira Nutts and 2 Boxes Citron charging them to my Account.

You will please to send me by the Return of my Sloop my Account ballanced and shall be obligd to you to give the greatest dispatch to the Sloop as I shall not only want the Wines but the Sloop and I hope she may be here in March. I am with much Respect Gen^{t}. Your Most obed^{t} Serv^{t}

Wines to be sent M^{r}. Hancock by the foregoing letter I H N^{o}. 1 to 4 pipes very best Madeira for his own use

1 pipe old Sterling Madeira if to be had if not you may send 5 pipes best Madeira for M^{r}. Hancock's own use.

HGT 2 pipes best Madeira

IK 4 pipes 4 Quarter Cask good Saleable Madeira and do let it be of the best Quality

2 bush^{l} Madeira Nutts

2 Small boxes Citron

Messrs. Hill, Lamar & Bissett [1]

COMMISSIONERS OF THE CUSTOMS TO LORDS OF THE TREASURY

May it please your Lordships.

By our Secretary's letters of the 21st of Nov^{r}. to M^{r}. Bradshaw, we had the honor to inform your Lordships of the arrival of such of Us as came from England, and when we entered upon business, with some other occurrences; and Mr. Robinson having arrived on the 28^{h} we have ever since had a full Board.

[1] From "Letter Book" of John Hancock in the New England Historic Genealogical Society and printed here by that society's kind permission.

After acquainting our Officers with our Commission, and giving them the necessary directions on the occasion, we ordered a state of the different Ports to be laid before us; that we may be enabled to proceed to regulate such matters as we shall find necessary, as well as to give particular instructions to our Inspectors General, against they enter upon duty.

It already appears to Us, that our Officers in these northern parts, and particularly in the Charter Colonies, have been greatly discouraged for want of support from Government.

Tho' smuging has been carried to a very great height, yet six seizures only have been made in the New England Provinces, within the course of two years and a half; and only one prosecuted to effect. a second was rescued out of the custody of our Officers at Falmouth who were at the same time attacked by a Mob; A third was rescued at Newbury, and the Officers greatly abused, A fourth was carried off clandestinely at New-London, while under prosecution; the fifth and sixth were acquitted at Rhode Island, thro' the combination and influence of the people. The Officers of this Port were resisted in the Summer 1766, at noonday, when endeavouring to enter the house of one Malcolm, and finding themselves unsupported against a numerous mob that was assembled, they were obliged to retire without making the seizure.

These several matters were communicated to the Commissioners of the Customs in London, but no measures have been taken to punish the Offenders or to strengthen the hands of Government. The Smuglers therefore with reason triumph in their success, and the Officers of the Revenue are deterred from exerting themselves with that vigour, and spirit, which the service requires.

The better to explain to your Lordships the difficulties which our Officers labour under, we beg leave to submit to your consideration the present state of Government in this country.

On the 14th of August the Sons of Liberty met, to commemorate that day of outrage in the year 1765, when the opposition to the Stamp Act begun; and intelligence being soon after received, that the Acts of the last session of Parliament respecting America, were passed, the news-papers in this town began to retail the most licentious publications, denying the right of Parliament to lay any taxes whatsoever on the Colonies: and some went so far as to assert the most unlimited independence.

The minds of the people scarcely composed after the late tumults, were susceptible of every impression, and these doctrines agreeing with their democratic principles, were received with applause, and in a little time the frenzy of the people of this

town was raised to such a height, that a forcible opposition to the execution of the new Laws was threatened; but thro' the interposition of the sensible and moderate part, it was considerably allayed by the beginning of November, when such of Us as came from England arrived, and no act of violence was then commited, tho' every inflamatory act had been practiced, to stimulate the people thereto, and we have ever since remained in safety, tho' not without some apprehentions, Mr. Paxton having undergone the indignity of suffering in Effigy.

As every publication, be it ever so exceptionable is sure to find access into most American newspapers, the principles therein broached are propagated with great success. Thus, the spirit which first shewed itself in this town, was diffused thro' the neighboring Provinces, where the people seem to be as ripe for riot, and mischief, as they are here.

At Rhode Island it was proposed in an advertizement[1] posted upon the town-house, to stop the revenue money, which the officers there were about shipping home. At New York sundry seditious papers have been dispersed, stirring up the people to a resistance. At Philadelphia, a series of letters are publishing in the Chronicle, under the name of the Farmers Letters, denying the right of Parliament to lay any tax whatsoever on the Colonies, and as the Author affects moderation, and a parade of learning, we consider them of the most mischievous tendency. Everything that is said, or published in England, in favour of the Colonies, is peculiarly prejudicial, as the people in this Country are led to believe, that their cause is powerfully espoused at home.

In these popular Governments there are frequent Assemblies of the people at large, under the name of town meetings, which were originally instituted to regulate the prudential concerns of the towns, but now they are converted to answer political purposes. At these meetings the lowest mechanics discuss upon the most important points of government with the utmost freedom; which being guided by a few hot and designing men, become the constant source of sedition. Men of character avoid these meetings, as the strongest lungs have generally the best of the argument, and they cou'd not oppose any popular measure, without being exposed to insult, and resentment.

Instead of opposing the execution of the new Laws by violence,

[1] Copy of this paper was enclosed with letter of John Robinson to Thomas Bradshaw, February 22, 1768, in PRO, Treasury. Class 1. Bundle 463. fo. 142.

as had been threatned, a Plan of *economy and industry*, was set on foot, at one of these town meetings,[1] the apparent design of which, is to allarm the trading and manufacturing people of Great Britain, and to engage them in their interest, so as to obtain a repeal of the Laws, rather than to answer the ends and purposes pretended.

An association was accordingly entered into in this town, whereby the articles now charged with duties, with many others, were to be entirely disused, and encouragement was given to manufacture the same among themselves; the consumption of British manufactures in general was to be discountenanced, and a preference given to those of America. That this spirit might extensively prevail, the proceedings of the town meeting were transmitted to every town of note throughout the Continent,[2] and we find the same measures adopted in the neighboring Provinces, and the newspapers of each, echo to the other, their great, tho' but imaginary progress in manufactures. Few of the principal people of the town signed the Association, and very few of the subscribers conform to the terms of it, which serve to shew Your Lordships that it is such a policy as we before suggested.

At a subsequent town meeting, instructions were given to the Representatives of Boston, to promote a remonstrance from the General Assembly, against the late Laws.

The General Assembly is now sitting, and the lower House has so far entered into their views, as to address His Majesty and write to His Secretary of State on the subject.[3] And to influence the other provinces to pursue similar measures, it was voted, a few days ago, that an account of their proceedings should be transmitted to the Speaker of every House of Representatives on the Continent.[4]

From this conduct of the lower House, Your Lordships may form a judgment of the general sense and disposition of the people of this Province. We must nevertheless observe, that there are many people of property in this town, who might be induced to shew their countenance in support of Government, if the executive power had strength to protect them: Property however has but little weight and influence in these popular Governments places of trust and authority being acquired, and maintained, by trimming with, and courting the people.

[1] October 28, 1767.

[2] *Massachusetts Broadsides, Collections,* LXXV. Nos. 1403, 1404.

[3] *Journals,* Massachusetts House of Representatives, January 20, 1768.

[4] *Ib.,* January 22 and 26, February 4, and 13, 1768. The text of the letter sent is in the *Boston-Gazette,* March 14, 1768.

While it is the general received opinion that the Acts imposing the late duties are unconstitutional, the People will be easily persuaded not to pay any. And we do not know how soon that period may arrive, after they find themselves disappointed in their expectations of a repeal, in consequence of their remonstrances.

Our Officers were resisted and defeated, almost in every attempt to do their duty, when the right of Parliament to lay external duties was acknowledged; now, that the right of Parliament to lay any taxes whatever on the Colonies, is denied, we have every reason to expect that we shall find it totally impracticable to inforce the execution of the Revenue Laws, untill the hand of Government is properly strengthened. At present, there is not a Ship of War in the province, nor a company of Soldiers nearer than New York, which is two hundred and fifty miles distant from this place.

We herewith transmit to Your Lordships, a collection of Newspapers, filled with publications derogatory to the honor and authority of Great Britain, and subversive of all order, and government, which have nevertheless been hitherto circulated thro' the different Colonies with impunity.

We have not made any one privy to the contents of this memorial, as a Subject of this delicate nature, requires the utmost secrecy, in the present feeble, and unhinged state of Government.

Which is humbly Submitted.

Wm. Burch
Hen. Hulton
J. Temple[1]
Chas. Paxton
John Robinson

Boston, Febr 12. 1768.

[Endorsed] Memorial from the Commrs of the Customs in America Febr. 12. 1768. R. the 4th June 1768.[2]

[1] "It may here be observed, that at the Commencement of this Board . . . , a majority of them considered it necessary for all the Members to sign such Letters and Memorials to the Treasury as should be agreed on by the major Part. . . . This (it is said) was very reluctantly complied with by one of them, who immediately applied to the Treasury. . . . The Answer was in the Negative." *Letters to the Ministry*, 107.

[2] PRO, Class 1. Bundle 465. fos. 330–333.

COMMISSIONERS OF THE CUSTOMS TO LORDS OF THE TREASURY

May it please Your Lordships.

In our Memorial of the 12th of February we laid before Your Lordships our Sentiments upon the present State of Government in this Country, and we are very sorry to say that from the Experience we have since had, we are confirmed in the Opinions we had then formed.

Having had Reason to think that the Persons employed in the out-door Business had been guilty of collusive practices, we thought it necessary to employ some extra Tidesmen on board of Vessels arriving in this Port from foreign ports. This Measure gave Umbrage to the Merchants, and produced great Clamours amongst them, and they have since endeavoured to distress and embarrass our Officers, and those who shew a Disposition to pay the Duties are threatnd by them.

Several persons have applied to Mr. Williams Inspector General for the usual Indulgences, and among the Rest the famous Mr. Malcolm, and being answered that the full Duties would be required, he went away, and said he should take his own Measures, On the next day his Vessel arrived near the Harbour, where she was unloaded of about Sixty pipes of Wine into Lighters, which were conducted into Town at Night by a great Number of people — the Master nevertheless, the next day, reported his Vessel in Ballast, and though the Affair is notoriously known and our Officers have endeavoured to procure an Informer, yet no one dares to appear.

To give your Lordships a fuller Idea of the general Temper and Disposition of the People in this Country, we beg leave to submit to Your Consideration some other Proceedings in this place.

On the 26th. February the House of Representatives in this Province passed Resolves similar to those of the Town Meeting in October last, to discourage the Use of *Foreign Superfluities* and to encourage the Manufactures of this Province, and out of eighty two Members, Brigadier Ruggles was the only one who answered in the Negative.[1]

The Merchants have held several Meetings (at one of which the said Mr. Malcolm presided) to concert Measures to obtain a Repeal of the Laws; accordingly they have entered into an Association not to import any Goods from Great Britain for a limited

[1] *Journals,* Massachusetts House of Representatives, February 26, 1768, and *Massachusetts Broadsides,* No. 1442.

Time, and a Committee of seven persons hath been appointed to correspond with the Merchants in the other Provinces, to excite them to adopt similar Measures, and those persons who refuse to subscribe are to be discouraged in the most effectual Manner. We are now to observe to Your Lordships, as we did before in our last Memorial, in regard to the proceedings of the Town Meetings, that we consider these Measures as a Policy calculated to alarm the Trading and Manufacturing people of Great Britain, and to engage them in their Interest, so as to obtain a Repeal of the Laws, rather than to answer the Ends and purposes pretended.

On the 29th. of February a most audacious Libel on Governor Bernard was published in the Newspapers printed by Edes & Gill of this Town, His Excellency communicated the same to both Houses, but the lower House payed no Regard to it.[1]

The Chief Justice opened the Superior Court on the 8th Instant with a very strong and pointed Charge in respect to Libels, the grand Jury nevertheless did not present the Publishers of the Libel on the Governor.

Though the most seditious and inflamatory publications have been circulated through all the provinces of America for many Months past, no one Governor, as we can learn, has hitherto attempted to prosecute the Authors or publishers of them, and the political Doctrines avowed in them are now become the Principles of the generality of the People; on the 11th. instant at an annual Meeting for the Choice of Town Officers, the Thanks of the Town were voted to the Author of the farmers Letters published at Philadelphia the Motion was made by the aforesaid Mr. Malcolm, and it passed unanimously.[2]

For several Evenings in the beginning of March a number of people armed with Clubs assembled about the Houses of some of the Members of the Board, blowing Horns, beating Drums, and making hideous Noises, so that the Familys quitted their Houses expecting they would proceed to Violence, On the 17th. instant we had certain Information that, on the next day, being the Anniversary of the Repeal of the Stamp Act, which has been observed as a Day of Triumph over Great Britain, certain Images would be affixed to a Tree called the Tree of Liberty, that the Mob would assemble and bring the Commissioners and the Officers of the Board to the Tree, to oblige them to renounce their Commissioners, accordingly at day break on the 18th., the

[1] *Ib.*, March 1, 1768. The alleged libel is at the head of the second column of the second page of the Supplement to the *Boston-Gazette*, February 29, 1768.

[2] *Boston Records*, XVI. 241, 243.

Effigies of Mr. Paxton and Mr. Williams were exhibited on the Tree, and after hanging a few Hours were taken down, the Morning was ushered in with Guns firing Drums beating, and a Display of Colours in several parts of the Town; That Morning as soon as the Board met, we wrote a Letter to the Governor, and before we broke up we received a Minute of the Council, Copies of which are sent herewith; The Council met again in the Afternoon, as resolved in the Minute of the Morning, and adjourned without taking any Measures to secure the Peace of the Town, and here we think it necessary to observe to Your Lordships, that even in the heighth of the Outrages in the Year 1765 the Council of this Province, who are annually chosen by the Representatives of the people, would not advise the Governor to apply to the Commander of His Majestys Troops for any Military Aid; In the Evening the Mob made a procession through the Town, with Drums beating, and Colours flying, which was closed with a Cart, in which were placed four swivel Guns, they went to Liberty Tree and after discharging several Guns they paraded through the Streets making hideous Cries and Noises at the Houses of the Governor and some of the Commissioners, and about nine O'Clock they proceeded to the House of Mr. Williams Inspector General, who is become particularly obnoxious by being our immediate Instrument in regulating this Port, and annexed is the Copy of Mr. William's Letter to the Board acquainting us of the Attack made upon him by the Mob of that Evening.

It does not appear that it is their plan to molest us immediately, as the last Mob was prevailed upon to disist from proceeding to Outrage until the Answer of Government to the remonstrance of their Assembly could be received; But of this we are well convinced, that the Governor and Magistracy have not the least Authority or power in this place, that the Mob are ready to be assembled on any Occasion, and that every Officer who exerts himself in the Execution of his Duty will be exposed to the Resentment of the Populace, without the least probability of receiving and Protection.

Though no immediate Outrage should be committed on ourselves or Officers, yet if the answer from Government to the Remonstrances of the lower House of Assembly should not be agreable to the people, We are fully persuaded that they will proceed to violent Measures; In the mean Time we must depend on the favour of the Leaders of the Mob for our protection and in such Circumstances we cannot answer for our Security for a

day, much less will it be in our power to carry the Revenue Laws into Effect.

All which is humbly submitted.

John Robinson
Hen. Hulton
J. Temple
Wm. Burch
Chas. Paxton

Custom Hº. Boston, 28th March 1768
[Endorsed] Memorial of the Commissioners of the Customs in America To the Right Honourable The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, 28th. March 1768 R. the 4th June 1768 Read 30 June 1768. Transmit Copy to Mr. Pownall v: Min: Tomkyns sent. American Contt 16 [1]

Instructions to Captain Corner

By Samuel Hood Esq. Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed and to be employed in the River St. Lawrence, Along the Coast of Nova-Scotia the Islands of St. John and Cape Breton and thence to New York.

You are hereby required and directed to proceed without loss of time, with His Majesty's Ship *Romney* under your Command, to Boston; And in addition to the Orders you will herewith receive.

You are hereby required and directed to be aiding and Assisting unto the Commissioners of the Customs, to the utmost of your Power upon the water, in the Due and legal execution of the Laws of Trade and Navigation according to the true Intent and meaning of the said Laws, and the several Acts of Parliament made in that behalf. As soon as you are anchored in Nantasket Road, you are to wait upon the Governor and the Commissioners of the Customs, and if you find that better Support can be given to the King's Revenues, by Anchoring the *Romney* in any other place, You are at liberty to remove her from time to time, having a proper regard to the Safety of the King's Ship.

And whereas it is highly necessary that you should be always upon your Guard, against the Mischievous humour of the populace, as well as to prevent Desertion; You are never to suffer a Boat to go from the Ship without two Petty Officers in her, that one may have nothing to do, but to attend to the keeping her

[1] PRO, Treasury. Class 1. Bundle 465. fos. 336–344.

Crew together, while the other is carrying into execution any Service she may be sent on: And whenever an officer goes on Shore upon Service, or his pleasure, the same caution is to be observed, and no Boat to be suffered to be kept waiting on any Account, but as soon as the officer is landed, the Boat is to return to the *Romney,* and go again for the Officer at his appointed time, which he is to be told he must be very exact in keeping. You are to remain at, or near, the Port of Boston till further Orders.

Given under my hand on board His Majesty's Ship *Romney* in Halifax Harbour 2d May 1768

SAM: HOOD

To/John Corner, Esq'r.
Captain of His Majesty's Ship/*Romney*
By Command of the Commodore/Jno. Thomas
[Endorsed] No. 9 Copy of an Order to Captain Corner of his Majesty's Ship *Romney* to proceed to Boston dated 2d May 1768 in Com. Hoods of the 11 July 1768.

COMMISSIONERS OF THE CUSTOMS TO LORDS OF THE TREASURY

May it please Your Lordships.

We beg leave to represent to your Lordships that the want of a proper establishment of the posts in this Country renders our Correspondence with our Officers, especially in the southern Colonies, very tedious and precarious.

The Mail in this Country is generally carried from sixty to an hundred Miles or upwards by one person, who does not travel by Night, and frequently loiters to distribute Letters from his private bag, and to do other business upon the Road.

The post is six days in coming from New York to this place, so that it is impossible for us to answer any Letters we may receive by the Packet to go by the return of that Vessel.

We further represent that the Merchant Ships coming from London generally perform their voyages to this Port in half the time that the Packet is coming from Falmouth to New York, and we are of opinion that if the Packets were to deliver the Mail at Rhode Island, it would greatly facilitate the correspondence of this Country, as Vessels can frequently make that island a fortnight or three weeks sooner than New York, and the Mails may be dispatched from Rhode Island to New York in two days, and to Boston in one day, the distance from Rhode Island to New York

being one hundred and seventy miles and from Rhode Island to Boston seventy.

We further beg leave to represent that the correspondence in this Country would be greatly expedited, and the Revenue of the Post Office improved if short post stages were established and the Riders stationed to relieve each other regularly, who should travel both by day and night.

Which is humbly submitted

JOHN ROBINSON
HEN. HULTON
J. TEMPLE
WM. BURCH
CHAS. PAXTON

Custom House, Boston, the 12th May 1768.

[Endorsed] Boston the 12th May 1768 Memorial to the Right Hon'ble The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury from The Commissioners of the Customs in America on the bad regulation of the posts in that Country. R. 25th June 1768. Ref[d] to Postmaster Gen[l] 12 Copy only must be sent.

CASE OF THE "LIBERTY"

ON the 9th of May last, a Ship or Vessel, called the *Liberty*, Nathaniel Bernard Master, arriving in the Port of Boston in New England, laden with Madeira Wines, two Custom House Officers were put on Board her to take Care that none of the Cargo was run ashore without paying the Duties.

On the 10th of May an Entry was made on the said Ship at the Custom House for 25 Casks of Wine only, but it being commonly reported that she had a much larger quantity on board, and Mr. Hancock a Merchant at Boston, the Owner of the Ship and Cargo, having been heard to declare before her Arrival, that he wo[d] run her Cargo of Wines on Shore, some illicit Practice was suspected, but the 2 Officers on Board being examined and declaring there had been no Wine run out of the Ship, the Matter rested 'till the 10th of June, when Thomas Kirk, one of the said Officers, gave an Information upon Oath, that about 9 o'clock in the Evening of the 9th of May (the Day he went on Board the *Liberty*) Captain Marshall came on Board and made Proposals to Kirk to consent to the hoisting out several Casks of Wine that Night, before the Vessell was entered which Kirk peremptorily refusing,

Captain Marshall, with the Assistance of 5 or 6 others, forcibly pushed him down into the Cabbin, and nailing down the Cover, confined him there about 3 Hours, during which Time he distinctly heard the Noise of many People on Deck, and the working of the Tackle, as if hoisting out Goods; that when the Noise ceased, Captain Marshall came down to him in the Cabbin, and threatened him if he made any Discovery of what had passed there that Night, his Life wo[d] be in Danger, and his Property destroyed, and then set him at Liberty; Kirk declared that the Reason of his not making this Discovery sooner, was, his being very much intimidated by the Threats of Captain Marshall; and a further Reason is given, tho' not mentioned in his Information, that Captain Marshall was dead at the Time this Information was made. The other Officer, who was also examined sayd he was asleep at the Time of the above Transaction, but Kirk declared, that he was drunk and gone home to Bed. —

Kirk's Information being laid before the Comm[rs] of the Customs at Boston, they took the Opinion of Mr. Lisle their Solicitor upon it, who advised the seizing of the Vessell, and Directions were thereupon given for that purpose.

It will be necessary to observe here, that the Populace at Boston, had long before this shewn a great Disaffection to the Revenue Laws, and seemed to want nothing but a Pretext for their proceeding to open Violences, wherefore the Officers of the Customs thought it prudent that the Vessell, when seized, sho[d] be delivered into the Charge of the *Romney* Man of War, then lying at Boston for Security.

On the same 10th of June Mr. Harrison Collector and Mr. Hallowell Comptroller of the Customs went on Board the *Liberty* and made a Seizure of her, but while they were delivering her over to the Care of the *Romney,* a great Number of People had collected themselves together, some of whom swore that the Vessell sho[d] not be taken into Custody, that they wo[d] throw the *Romney's* People overboard, and used other Menaces to interrupt the Officers in the Execution of their Duty. From Menaces they proceeded to Violence, laying hold of the Ropes of the Vessell as she was towing towards the *Romney,* and pelting the Officers, 'till the Vessell was at last got from them by Force; and on the Return home of the Collector and Comptroller, they were surrounded by the Mob, which at that Time consisted of about 4 or 500 Persons, and were so much beat and wounded by them, that it was with the greatest Difficulty they Escaped with their Lives, nor did the Fury of the Mob stop here, Every Officer of the Customs

they could meet with felt their Resentment, and narrowly escaped being murthered; the Windows of the Houses of the Collector, Comptroller and Inspector General were intirely demolished, and in short there Threats were so violent against all the Officers of the Customs, that the Commissioners, in order to save themselves, sheltered themselves in the Houses of their Friends for that Night, and afterwards took Refuge on Board the *Romney*, and have since been conveyed to Castle William for greater safety.

On Saturday the 11th of June a Proposal was verbally made to Mr. Harrison, the Collector, on behalf of Mr. Hancock, that upon the Vessell being returned to him, he wo^{d} give his own Bond as a Security for her forthcoming, and for redelivering her in case upon the Matter being heard in the Admiralty Court, a Decree sho^{d} be obtained in favour of the Revenue Officers.

At the Time this Proposal was made, the Populace still continued in a great Ferment, and seemed ready to proceed to every Outrage unless their Humour was complied with, and it was intimated to the Officers of the Customs, that the Cessation of Violence was only to continue 'till the Monday following, and that if the Proposal was not accepted by that Time, very terrible Consequences wo^{d} ensue, wherefore the Collector and Comptroller acquiesced in the Proposal; and the Collector, seeing the Danger to which himself and the whole Town of Boston were exposed, went further, for by a Letter to Mr. Hancock he agreed to take his Word only as a Security for the Ship, and the Officers understood that everything was settled, and that the Vessell was to be restored to Hancock on the Monday, but on Sunday Evening a Message was bro^{t} them, that Hancock had advised with his Councel and Friends and wo^{d} settle nothing with them, but wo^{d} let the Business take its Course.

Things being in this Situation, the Comm^{rs}, not knowing what Steps to take in so critical a Dilemma, have represented the above Facts to the Lords Comm^{rs} of His Mãty's Treasury, and transmitted to them several Depositions and Letters relating thereto (Copies of which are herewith left) and their Lordships have been pleased to direct that a Case be laid before Mr. Attorney General for his immediate Opinion.

2 Whether there has been any Thing illegal or irregular in the Proceedings of the Officers of the Customs at Boston with respect to the Seizure of this Ship, And that Mr. Att'y General will also be pleased to point out to their Lordships, what further Steps it may be proper to direct the Officers abroad to take with respect to this Affair?

The unlading of the Ship "without having *made a true and Perfect Inventory of the Lading*" is a Cause of Seizure and a forfeiture of the Ship by the 15 Car. 2. The Difficulty in This Case will be that it rests at present upon the Evidence of Kirk confirmed by the previous declarations of Hancock; & Kirk's Evidence does not speak positively to His Knowledge.

If Kirk is believed in saying, that any Part of the Cargo was removed upon the 9th of May; or If the Cargo consisted of more than 25 Casks of Madeira, and any Part of it was unladen, the Ship was forfeited. and considering the Circumstances of This Case I conceive it will be proper to prosecute the Seizure in the usual Course of Proceeding.

Actions may likewise be brought against the Persons concern'd in the unshipping the Goods, and in obstructing the Seizure; but That depends upon the same Question of the Proof of the Cause of Forfeiture.

What I have said is Independent of any Consideration relative to the Insults upon Government and the Outrages against the Commissioners of the Customs; which I Presume were not Intended to be referr'd to me upon this Case.

WM. DE GREY

July 25, 1768.

MEMORIAL FROM THE COMMISSIONERS OF CUSTOMS

May it please Your Lordships.

We herewith lay before Your Lordships the Establishment of the Officer of the Revenue under Our management from September 8th, 1767, to January 5th, 1768.

We have placed the Patent and Constitution Officers attendant upon the Board, upon the Establishment, from the Date of their several patents and Constitutions; and the Warrant Officers from the time of their admission into Office here; but We have ordered, for the encouragement of the Clerks in our Secretaries Office, their Salaries to be paid out of Incidents from the 9th day of September last (being the date of their Warrants) to the day of their admission; the remainder of the Establishment is formed from the Copy of the last Establishment of American Officers delivered to Us from the Commissioners of the Customs in London.

Mr. Steuart appointed Receiver and Cashire of the Customs having represented the state of his health to be such that he could not with safety proceed to Boston during the Winter Season, We

shall order the Collector and Comptroller of this port to make such payments as the Service may immediately require.

Upon our arrival here We were informed that Mr. Randolph who stood upon the Establishment as Surveyor General for Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, died the last summer, and observing that Mr. William Randall stood upon the Establishment as Surveyor General of Georgia, East and West Florida, the Bahama Islands and Jamaica and being acquainted that a Charge had been sent to him from the Commissioners of the Customs in London, and that they had required his answer thereto, We have directed him to send us a Copy of the said Charge and his answer, and We shall wait your Lordships directions with regard to that officer, in the mean Time We have continued him upon the Establishment in the same manner as he stood in the copy delivered to Us.

The following is an account of such Officers upon the Establishment as from the best information We have received are absent from their duty.

James Bruce, Collector of Pensacola, absent in England by leave.

Jacob Blackwell, Collector of Mobile, absent in England by leave.

William Russel, Comptroller of Savannah in Georgia has been absent from his duty for four years past in England, on account of some indisposition.

Henry Eustace McCulloh, Collector, of Roanoke, absent in England, by leave.

Richard Black, Comptroller of Port Royal, said to be dead.

James Gibbes, Comptroller of Patuxent, went from thence for England some time before our arrival for the recovery of his health.

John Manby, Collector of Accomack, in England, and under suspension by the Commissioners in London.

James Ainslie, Collector of Quebec, absent in England.

We are acquainted that your Lordships had sent a Warrant to the Commissioners in London to issue their Deputations to Thomas Kerr as Collector and Surveyor, and to Francis Lee as Comptroller and Searcher at Sunbury in Georgia, but as Deputations had not been made out to those Officers before the Date of our Commission, We pray Your Lordships to give us such Directions as you shall think proper with regard to those persons, who are acting in their offices at that port, by appointment from Governor Wright.

Wm. Burch, J. Temple, Hen. Hulton
John Robinson, Charles Paxton.

Custom House, Boston, 26 January 1768.
[Endorsed] Memorial from the Commissioners of the Customs in America 26 Jan: 1768 Rec'd. March 9, 1768.

Commissioners of Customs to Commodore Hood

Sir, — We have received your Obliging favour of the 14th of the last Month and with pleasure observe the readiness you express to assist Us in carrying on the Service of His Majesty's Revenue in America.

We are of Opinion that it is essentially necessary to the Service that a Frigate should be stationed in this Port, and a Sloop be directed to cruise in Canso Bay, and we recommend such a measure to your Consideration. Any thing further that shall occur wherein we think you can co-operate with us in the service of the Revenue we shall immediately communicate to you — in the mean time, we are, with great Regard, Sir Your most Obedient and most humble Servants,

W. Burch
H. Hulton
J. Temple
C. Paxton
J. Robinson

Custom house Boston 12 Feb'ry 1768

Circular Letter

Circular Whitehall 6 Dec'r 1768

The Commissioners of the Customs, in America, have informed the Lords of the Treasury that many Vessels arrive in divers Parts of America, with Wines from the Madeiras, and the Azores, and land their Cargoes, without Payment of the Duties; Likewise, that many Vessels carry enumerated Goods from America to different Parts of Europe, that Cargoes of Goods are frequently run into America, by which means the Revenue has been greatly defrauded, and they are of Opinion that it would tend to the detection of such illicit Trade, and enable them to prosecute the Offenders, if His Majesty's Ministers, Consuls, or Agents in the Ports of Europe, and at Madeira were directed to give immediate Advice of the Arrival of all English Vessels at the said Ports from North America, or that sail for the Continent of North America, with an

Account of their respective Cargoes, I am directed by the King to acquaint You, that in Consequence of the Representation of the Lords of the Treasury on the Subject of the Letter they have received from the Commissioners of the Customs in America, that It is His Majestys Pleasure, You should be particularly attentive to what is desired by them, and that You should send to the Secretary of the Treasury, under my Cover, immediate Notice of all British Vessels, with an Account of their respective Cargoes, either arriving at, or sailing from the Port of which You may have Reason to suspect to be carrying on an illicit Trade, to or from His Majesty's Colonies in America. I am, &c.

ROCHFORD

[Endorsed] Copy of Circular dated 6th Dec'r 1768 to the following Ministers and Consuls Mr. Wolters, Mr. Irvine, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Fenwicke, Mr. Corry, Mr. Swallow, Sir John Goodricke, Mr. Mathias.

TO FOUR OF THE CUSTOMS COMMISSIONERS

BOSTON, Dec'r 22. 1768

GENTLEMEN, — You have made application to each of Us seperately, and desired our answer to the following questions vizt.

1. Whether it is our opinion that at the time You went on board the *Romney* Man of War, You cou'd have remained in safety at Boston?

2. Whether if You had remained in Boston, and any violence had been offered to Your persons or properties, there was a probability of Your receiving protection from Government, or otherwise?

3. Whether you cou'd have returned to town, and have executed Your Commission there in safety, before the arrival of his Majesty's troops?

4. Whether Your retiring to the Castle as a place of Security, and remaining there in the exercise of Your Commission, were not the best measures You cou'd take, in the circumstances of affairs, for the Service of Government, and the honor of Your Commission?

We have thought proper to confer together, and finding that we are all of one Sentiment: We think it most convenient to give you a joint answer.

And to Your first question, We say,

That we are of opinion from the Spirit which had been excited in the populace against all the Commissioners of the Customs, except Mr. Temple, You cou'd not have remained long in safety in the town of Boston after the Seizure of the Sloop *Liberty;* but wou'd have been in great danger of violence to Your persons, and properties, from a Mob, which at that time, it was generally expected wou'd be raised for that purpose.

To the second, We say,

That it had been found by experience that the authority of Government was insufficient to restrain, suppress, or punish, the several Mobs which had been asssembled since the 14th of Aug't 1765, in some of which, felonious acts of violence had been committed. And we are of opinion, that at the time You retired to the Castle, there was no probability that the same authority, cou'd have had any greater force in restraining, suppressing, or punishing a Mob raised against the four Commissioners of the Customs, than any other Mob which preceded it.

To the third, We say,

That we are of opinion, that You cou'd not have returned to town, and executed Your Commission with safety, at any time after Your withdraw, before the arrival of His Majesty's troops.

To the fourth, We say,

That we know of no better measure You cou'd have taken, than Your retiring to Castle William, there being no place within this Province, where Your persons wou'd have been equally safe, and where the honour of His Majestys Commission could be better maintained; and where it could be exercised with more convenience to his Subjects. We are with great regard, Gentlemen, Your most obedient humble Servants

Fra Bernard
Tho Hutchinson
And'w Oliver
Rob't Auchmuty

To the Hon'ble Henry Hulton, William Burch, Charles Paxton, John Robinson, Commissioners of His Majestys Customs, in Boston.

[Endorsed] Boston Dec'r 22. 1768. Copy of a letter from The Governor, L't Governor, Secretary of the Province, and Judge of the Admiralty, to four of the Comm'rs of the Customs. Read, 6th June 1769.

Hutchinson to Richard Jackson[1]

June 16, 1768

I rec'd today your very kind Letter by the [torn] Pacquet designed a month sooner but by a blunder in the Post Office was sent I suppose to Boston in Lincolnshire and returned. You will be amazed at the proceedings of our people since my last. The 9 [sic] in the evening the Cust. h. Officers seizd a Sloop belong. to M^r. H. one of the Boston Rep. for making a false entry. It is said a Cargo of Mad. Wine was landed in the night and the next morn. the master entred 4 or 5 pps and swore it was the whole of her Cargo. This was the town talk for several weeks but it was supposed nobody would dare make a seizure. The Offics differd in Opinion the Collect[or] thinking she might lay at the wharffe after she had the broad arrow but the Comptroller thot it best to move her under the Guns of the *Romney* which lay a quarter of a mile from the Shoar and made a signal for the man of war boats to come ashoar. The people upon the wharffe said there was no occasion she would ly safe and no Officer had a right to move her but the master of the Man of War cut her Moorings and carried her off. A Mob presently gathered and insulted the Custom H Offic^s and carried them in triumph as trespassers up the Wharffe tore their cloaths and bruised and otherways hurt them until one after another they escaped. The mob increased to 2 or 3000 chiefly sturdy boys and negroes and broke the windows of the Comptrollers house and then the Inspector's Williams and then went in search of the M of War's boats w^ch. not finding they took a boat belong^g to M^r. H. the Collector dragged her into the Common and burnt her and about one o'Clock dispersed. This was friday. Saturday and Sunday evenings are sacred. Monday it was supposed would produce something more important but in the aftern. printed tickets were put up in diff't quarters notifying the Sons of Lib. to meet the next day at 10 o'Clock at Liberty Hall or Lib. Tree which is all one to consult what was proper to be done in these times of Oppression and Distraction to preserve peace and order and maintain their Rights etc. This diverted the Evenings work but at the appointed time some thousands of the Rabble met but it being a rainy day they adjourned to Fan. Hall where a proposal was made to send the Constables to notify a legal Town meet. for the aftern. at [the] South Ch[urch] the Hall not being large eno accord. the same Convention met in the aft.

[1] Mass. Archives, XXVI, 310–312.

under a new name and chose Otis their Moderator who after haranguing them some time from the Pulpit suffered them to harangue one another until they had agreed upon an Address to the G. the most extrad. thing that has yet appeared and appointed 21 of their number to wait on him with it and then adjourned to the next day for an Answer. The G. let them know he could not comply with what they princip[ally] desired which was to order the *Romney* out of the Harb. but should be glad to do every thing for the good of the Town, and Prov. consist. with his Duty to the Crown etc. Upon receiving this Answer they adjourned until tomorrow evn'g to consider what further measures are proper. The Commis. Hulton Burch Paxton & Robi[nson] remained pretty easy Saturday and Sunday but Mond. morning early they sent a card to the G. to let him know they were going aboard the *Romney* and desired his orders for their Recept at the Castle which he readily gave. The Collect and Comptroller and most of the other Officers of the Cust[oms] are also withdrawn and it is by no means advisable at present for any of them to return.

I have been with my family several weeks in the Country. The G. is at his house in the Country but goes to Council every day or two. Tuesday morning he sent one of his sons to me to desire me to come to him being in expect. of very import. news from Town. I went immed. when he acquainted me that he had been endeavouring all Saturday and Monday to prevail upon the C. to come into some spirited measures but all to no purpose, that when he sent his son away he was apprehensive he should receive such advices of the proceed. of the Sons of Lib. at Boston as that it would be necessary for him to withdraw but happily before my arrival he had more favorable accounts. It is now the talk among the Populace that neither the Commiss'rs nor the Comptroller shall be suffered to return to Town and just before noon today I saw a printed notification upon the Change requiring a full meet tomorrow as the fate of the Prov. and of America depended upon the measures to be then taken.

It is very natural to ask where the Justices and Sheriffs are upon these occasions. The persons who are to assist the Sheriff in the execution of his Office are Sons of Liberty and determined to oppose him in every thing which shall be contrary to their Schemes. Some of the Justices are great favourers of them and those who are not are afraid of being sacrificed by them and will issue out no warrant to apprehend them. Let an Officer behave ever so ill even if he was to abet the Disorders he ought to suppress I do not think it would be practicable to remove him seeing it cannot be done

without the advice of C. and they would be afraid to give the advice.

It is unfortunate that in the midst of these diff. the *Romney* has been pressing Seamen out of all inward bound Vessels and altho he does not take men belonging to the Prov. who have families yet the fear of it prevents Coasters as well as other Vessels coming in freely and it adds more fewel to the great stock among us before. It is pity that in peaceable times any Pressing of Seamen should be allowed in the Colonies. If it was not I beleive the Commanders would not have so many Deserters as they now have.

I have wrote in so circumstantial a manner because the G. tells me he has so many Publ. Lett. to write that he shall not be able to write any private.

I am very glad you have a seat in Parl't again. I am sure the Col[ony] would have lost a good friend if you had declined it. One of them has behaved ungratefully rather owing to the influence of a bad set of men just at that time altho too great a disposition to neglect their best benefactors has prevailed from their first settlements. The Party are afraid of [risquing?] the choice of a Provincial agent and altho as you observe we gave up to N York all they could reasonably desire yet the H rather than have an agent to make defence in Eng. have voted that the Commiss shall comply with the last demand of N. Y. without taking any care of a considerable number of families settled upon the Lands by the encouragement of this Prov. and who upon there being left to N. Y. will meet with no mercy but the Council hitherto decline concurring.

I have kept my letter open until the 18. Last evening I went on board the *Romney* found the Commiss and families still on board but intend to the Castle tomorrow. They let me know they had resolved to send Mr. Hallowell immediately to Eng'd so I shall commit this Letter to his care which I had before intended by a Merchant Vessel. The T. of B. yesterday gave their Rep. Instr[uctions] prefaced with a large Represent'n of the grievances from Impresses and the swarms of bloodsucking Custom house Officers and then direct them to procure Relief in a *Parliamentary* way and to make enquiry whether any Person had wrote to or used any endeavours that Troops should be sent here there being, as the Instructions say, many alarming Reports to that Purpose.[1] A Committee of the Town had prepared a Resolve that whoever had by writing or any other ways and means promoted or even wished that Troops might be sent here was a Tyrant in his heart

[1] *Boston Records*, XVI. 257.

a Traytor and open enemy to his Country. This was pushed by their T. Clerk and others and weak as it is would have passed if it had not hapned not to be approved by a Lawyer a noted Son of Liberty. I am with the most Sincere esteem faithf and obedt.

A Committee of Council having been with Cap Corner he has conducted with great prudence and taken much from the Edge of the Resentment raised against the Man of War.

Wrote of the 17 and 18 by Hallowell to Duke of Grafton, Lord Adam Gordon Mr. Whateley, Mauduit, Bollan Pownall and Rogers an account of late proceedings.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1922

THE annual meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the first Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Dr. Charles E. Banks, of Chicago, manuscript and printed material relating to Arnold's Expedition to Quebec, 1775.

From Lawrence Shaw Mayo, a certificate of two shares in the capital stock of the Boston, Hartford, & Erie Railroad Company, Boston, August 31, 1865.

From Dr. Charles H. Hare, a parchment commission by George II to Roger Townshend as Captain of the Regiment of Horse, February 18, 1728/9, in Lieutenant General George Wade's Regiment of Horse.

From Albert Matthews, a photographic copy of the Journal of a Voyage from London to Virginia, 1754, by Mrs. Charlotte Browne, to be printed in the *Transactions* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

From George G. Bulfinch, by deposit, a number of Bulfinch family papers, 1785–1867.

From Walter Eliot Thwing, by deposit, log-books of the Ship *Unicorn,* 1837–1840, and of the *Daniel Marcy,* 1868–1872.

By purchase, some papers of the family of Rev. William P. Lunt, of Quincy, for many years a Resident Member of the Society; also a letter of Thomas P. Rutledge to Lieut. C. H. Davis, dated at Charleston, October 20, 1836.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Frank W. Bayley, two photographs of inscriptions on the back of the canvas of two paintings by Jeremiah Dummer in 1691, owned by Mr. Paul Hamlen, a direct descendant; one a self-portrait, and the other a portrait of Mrs. Dummer.

From Lawrence Shaw Mayo, a photograph of Samuel Jacques, 1850, owner of Ten Hills farm.

From Mrs. James W. Longley, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, a photo-

graph of "The Finding of Moses" painted by Mather Brown in 1770 and owned by her.

From Dr. Malcolm Storer, three engravings, by Samuel Walker, of the Hancock House, and the Tremont House, Boston, and of Amherst College.

From Everett Pepperrell Wheeler, of New York, a photograph of Lady Pepperrell, from a painting by Copley about 1770, belonging to Mr. Wheeler.

From Mr. Norcross, a half-tone view of Washington Street, looking south from the corner of Milk Street, from a photograph taken in 1855.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, two mourning bracelets made of hair and gold in memory of the two children of John Hancock: Lydia Hancock, who died in 1777 aged nine months, and John George Washington Hancock, who died in 1787 aged nine years. These bracelets were bought at the sale of the Hancock family effects by John Mellen of Boston, later of Madison, Indiana, great uncle of Mrs. Marrs. John Hancock and Dorothy Quincy were married at Fairfield, Conn., on August 29, 1775.

From Mrs. Austin Holden, a pair of Perkins Metallic Tractors, patented in 1798 and used by Dr. Elisha Perkins (1741–1799) of Connecticut, in the treatment of disease.

From Mr. Dickinson of New York a medal designed by Julius A. Kilenyi and struck in honor of President Charles W. Eliot, by J. F. Newman, Inc., of New York.

From George W. Hamilton, the medal in silver of S. P. Gross, of Kentucky, issued in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition of 1892–93.

From Mr. Norcross, a bronze medal of the 32^{d} Annual Congress of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, at Buffalo, 1921.

The Vice-President announced the death of two Corresponding Members, James Wilberforce Longley, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Albert Venn Dicey, of All Souls' College, Oxford, England; and gave some reminiscences of Mr. Dicey, including an anecdote of his connection with Mr. Bryce, which suggests that in the incident mentioned was the origin of *The American Commonwealth.*

Dr. SHATTUCK, in connection with some manuscript volumes, said:

The earliest letter book is that of William Downes Cheever, beginning in June, 1765, and continuing till his death in 1788, and dealing wholly with his mercantile concerns. A wish to have "a Lad Brought me from the Blew Coat Hospitall in London" to serve as an apprentice, is somewhat unusual, but had occurred in other cases. Two letter books of his son, William Cheever, run from 1774 to 1787 and are also mercantile in contents, but the writer was on the continent of Europe in 1781 and 1782 and a number of the letters are addressed to his father. The series gives a good picture of the courses into which American commerce was turned by the War for Independence and growing connections with the countries of northern Europe, chiefly with Holland and her island in the West Indies — St. Eustatius. A letter book of Caleb Davis of Boston, as Agent of Massachusetts,[1] extends from March, 1782, to March, 1786, and shows the wide interests of the Agent's office and the commercial interests of Caleb Davis. There is also a volume by William Downes Cheever of problems in navigation, fully illustrated with colored drawings, which he prepared under the teaching of Owen Harris, "master of the Mathematical School in Boston, 1736." The first leaf is almost illegible, which is explained by the note in Cheever's writing: "N. B. Washd out when Cast away in No. Carolina 1749."

On Owen Harris I give a few references that have come to my notice, as well as something on Mathematical Schools in Boston early in the eighteenth century:

September 8, 1712. "Liberty is granted to Edward Mills, Owen Harrisse, and Hannah Taper, to Exercise the Keeping of School within this Town."[2]

March 12, 1721–22. On a memorial of sundry of the inhabitants about repairing or securing the South Battery, Owen Harris was a member of the committee reporting May 18.[3]

March 13, 1726–27. The Selectmen and such as shall be joined with them were to enquire about a "Sutable Person for a Master of the South School," and Owen Harris was one

[1] *Proceedings*, LIV. 216.
[2] *Boston Records*, XI. 172.
[3] *Ib.*, VIII. 163, 166.

of the persons placed on the committee. Peter Blin was endorsed by them and accepted.[1]

In 1740 he again served on a committee on fortifying the town.[2]

Appeared for his wife's father among grantees of Narraganset townships.[3]

Owen Harris and Susanna Love were married by Rev. Increase Mather, August 17, 1715.[4]

Second Grammar School house was located in N. Bennet Street on land bought of Mrs. Susanna Love. 1712?[5]

Richard Bennett, 1648–50, became proprietor of 3 or 4 acres in northerly part of Boston, Will, 1677; had son Peter, d. 1676, and a granddaughter Susanna Bennett who married John Love, and after his death, in 1709, she married Owen Harris. She died before February, 1736. The land was bounded by Bennett, North (now Hanover) and Love Lane (now Tileston) Streets.

It would appear that the opening of a mathematical school, which was another name for a school on navigation, required some formalities. Joseph Kent in 1736 came from Plymouth to Boston and putting up at the inn of James Busby, set up a school for teaching the mathematics without advising the Selectmen of his intention, which was contrary to law. An order was given to punish Busby and for Kent to appear before the Selectmen.[6] What was done to Busby is not a matter of record, but Kent made a proper application and Rev. Mr. Foxcroft and Chauncy (to whose church he belonged) testifying to his life and conversation, he was granted "Liberty to keep a School in this Town, for the Teaching and Instructing Youth, &c. in Mathematical Arts and Sciences; Whilst he continues to behave himself to the Approbation of the Select Men of the Town for the time being."[7] He does not appear again in the records of the Selectmen.

[1] *Ib.*, 204, 211.
[2] *Ib.*, XII. 269.
[3] *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, XVI. 143.
[4] *Ib.*, XXXIV. 95.
[5] *Ib.*, XIII. 261.
[6] *Boston Records*, XIII. 295.
[7] *Ib.*, XV. 4.

In the next year a Mr. Scammel opened a mathematical school at the north end of the town and printed advertisement of it before he had obtained the approbation of the Selectmen. He, too, was notified that his conduct was illegal, but that ended the matter, so far as the records show.[1] In 1738 Isaac Greenwood petitioned for leave to open a school for instructing youth and others in mathematics and other parts of learning and permission was given "Whilst he continues to regulate the same in Conformity to the Laws of this Province in that Case made and provided, and to the approbation of the Select Men for the time being."[2] Four years later Nathan Prince petitioned to have a school to teach young gentlemen the mathematics, natural philosophy, history, etc. and was treated most handsomely, for he was admitted an inhabitant of the town and granted liberty to give instruction in the following subjects: "In Arithmetick, The Elements of Geometry & Algebra, in Trigonometry & Navigation, In the Arts of Dialling, Surveying, Gauging & other kinds of mensuration; In Astronomy & Geography with the Use of the Globes & in the Several kinds of the Projection of the Sphere As also in the General Principles & Rules of Fortification & Gunnery together with Lectures on History & Natural Philosophy, Agreeable to his Petition."[3] Finally, in 1749, John Leach received liberty to teach the "Art of Navigation and other Branches of the Mathematicks,"[4] thus proving conclusively that a school of mathematics was a school of navigation. These various "schools" appear to have been outside of the annual visitation, that ceremony being confined to grammar and writing schools.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting, and

Mr. Dowse read the

[1] *Ib.*, 88.
[2] *Boston Records*, xv. 137.
[3] *Ib.*, xvii. 6, 7.
[4] *Ib.*, 220.

Report of the Council

A year ago the Council took notice of the retirement of Mr. Lord from the Treasurership and of Mr. Winslow Warren from the office of senior Vice-President, reluctantly yielding to their urgent wishes. In now yielding to the equal insistence of Mr. Rhodes to be relieved from the office of senior Vice-President it can only express its deep regret at the occasion and bow to the necessity. Coming from another State and by good works winning an election in 1893 Mr. Rhodes has occupied a position in the Society that has been quite unique. Only members of Massachusetts birth had held the offices of President and Vice-President, and he offers the sole exception. It is no violation of confidence to say that he could have had the higher office had he so desired; it is only one more evidence of the fitness of his adoption by the Society and the sense of obligation which he has always recognized. On its part the Society now records its sense of his high ability, his readiness to serve and his unselfish labors and interest in the advanced purposes of the Society. His presence and counsel will be missed; his return with renewed strength will be ardently desired. He carries with him the cordial esteem of all.

It is a pleasure to note a continuation of gifts of manuscripts. The most important accession in the past year was the Livingston-Ridley manuscripts, of national interest, the gift of Dr. Charles L. Nichols, of Worcester. It supplements the Kellen and Washburn gifts as a reminder of active interest in the principal object of the Society. The Shattuck and Warren papers, both large collections, are a valuable aid to the history of medical practice in New England, replete with information on the science and on social Boston. Of books there has been no important gift and the accessions have been such as were needed to complete the works of reference or to keep up with the writings on New England history. It is opportune to remind our members that in New England manuscripts the Society stands first in importance and to claim that holders of such material will find it to their best interests to deposit it here where it may round

out the records and thus avoid the ill effects and inconvenience of dispersal in widely separated localities. The purposes of the historian are best served by concentration of these original sources.

The situation in the printing trade has set at nought all announcements of publications made a year ago. For nine months a strike paralyzed the establishments and four months after a partial resumption of work the effects are still seriously felt. Volume 54 of the Proceedings and the third volume of the Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts-Bay are only to be bound; Volume 75 of the Collections — Massachusetts Broadsides — is nearly complete and the copy of Volume 76 — Massachusetts Coins and Medals — is in the printer's hands. The Warren-Adams volume (the 73d of the Collections) is ready and the first of the Winthrop volumes will be sent to the printer early in the summer, if the conditions permit. The Letters of Theodore Lyman during the Wilderness campaign, 1863–1865, will be published in the autumn, a notable addition to the literature of the War of Secession. The copy of the fourth volume of the House Journals is with the printer and that of Volume 55 of the Proceedings (1921–22) is ready to be sent as soon as Volume 54 has been completed. It also will contain a series of war letters from the Dalton brothers — John C., Jr., Edward Barry and Henry Rogers Dalton. Until conditions improve, it is unwise to make definite plans, for at present there is too great uncertainty of performance.

The photostat has been fully occupied in the past year and almost entirely in large undertakings. Three years of the *Boston News-Letter* were printed bringing the reproduction to the end of 1750 or the first forty-six years of the newspaper. An important instalment of North Carolina papers published before 1800 was also finished, at the instance of the Historical Commission of North Carolina. A second instalment is to be printed in the coming year. "Ledger A," a volume of 700 pages wholly in Washington's writing, was reproduced in an edition of fourteen copies, under permission graciously given by the Library of Congress, where is the original volume. Its value as a personal

and economic record is beyond question. Sets of more than one hundred English and American broadsides of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been distributed in fifteen libraries, material of great rarity and almost unknown, yet of good political and literary value.

The calls for photostat work from sister institutions have been answered, as well as such as could aid scholarship and historical research, and in meeting these needs the Society has gained in obtaining for itself material or like courtesies from other institutions. The total number of prints made in the year was 22,487 and since April, 1915, soon after the photostat was installed and statistics of product were kept, 153,706; but the mere figures of output give no indication of the wide range and quality of the product. It is bringing into the Society records it could never hope to see before this application of photography was perfected, much less to own, and it is drawing leading collections into closer relations by which they exchange benefits.

In the early Americana series twenty-four issues have been made and distributed among the ten subscribing libraries, thus attaining the sixty-second number or volume. Among these twenty-four may be mentioned: two issues of the Maryland law on religion, 1689; three editions of Vespuccius (1505–1516); the English translation of Espeio's New Mexico, 1587; Hawkins' True Declaration, 1569; Gould's Brief Narration, 1700; Of the New Lands, 1522; George Fox, Something in answer, 1678; Dutch West India Company's Orders of 1621, in English; notices of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1696–1699, and the Florence edition of Dati, 1493 — each one of the highest rarity and interest. The series has proved its usefulness and has enriched all the libraries concerned. Even the largest libraries are obliged to question the wisdom of paying prices now asked for originals and are glad to have a reproduction which will meet all the requirements of bibliography and of the writer of history. Public institutions do not feel justified in locking up their funds in high priced rarities and few private collectors can hope to form other than a limited library in any one line. The resort, therefore, to photostat reproductions is justified

and is becoming more general; but thus far it is safe to say that no other library has successfully executed so many large undertakings covering so widely different fields of research material.

An institution like this is not to be measured by one year's development, but by the progress made in a decade or in a generation. Thirty years ago the Society was still in almost primitive conditions. Ten years ago it had made some advance, but at either point of time no such growth as has occurred could have been foreseen. In 1897 our possessions filled only a part of the new building, a structure that was looked upon as good for years of accumulation. Today, after weeding out tons of duplicate material, our shelving is overcrowded, our storage space completely filled and our floors groaning from the overweight of necessary accessions. Each year the problem becomes more acute and can only be solved by an addition to the present structure, an extension competent to receive the ever increasing store of priceless historical material. However flattering the growing dependence of scholars and of the public on the purposes and facilities of the Society may be, it involves a greater proportionate responsibility in meeting the demands made upon it. It must still rest upon the generosity of members and others.

Report of the Treasurer

In presenting my first report as Treasurer of this Society as required by the By-Laws (Chapter VII, Article 2), I cannot refrain from paying a tribute to my predecessors in office. Whether in the lean years, when there was neither a building nor funds beyond the dues of the members, or in the years when funds began to be received and by steady progress resulted in a building and adequate endowments, the treasurers have managed what they had with skill and success. To them is largely due the praise for the present financial solidity of the Society and for the opportunity for growth in lines and on a scale which fifty years ago would hardly have been deemed possible.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws,

Chapter VII, article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report made up to April 1, 1922.

The Special funds now held by the Treasurer are thirty-five in number, an increase of two, the additions being the bequests of Robert A. Boit of $5,000.00 and James Schouler $2,850.00. A list of these funds, with the income and expenditure of each fund, appears in Exhibit V in this report.

An account of twenty-nine of the funds giving a brief history of each will be found in the Treasurer's report for year ending March 31, 1910 (Proceedings XLIII. 529), the thirtieth in the 1911 report, the thirty-first and thirty-second in that for 1920. The Robert Winthrop was established last year and numbers 34 and 35 are the amounts received under the wills of Robert A. Boit $5,000.00 and James Schouler $2,850.00. In addition to the above there was added to the principal of the Adams Fund $2,993.97 from the sale of Publications. A list of the securities now on hand follows and shows

Bonds Par Value	$476,500.00
Stocks " "	157,200.00
Savings Bank Books	1,777.56
	$635,477.56

Represented by Investment Acct. $601,852.00

During the past year, taking advantage of financial conditions with which you all, no doubt, are familiar, your Treasurer disposed of a little over one hundred and fifty thousand dollars ($150,000.) worth of investments, mostly those maturing within a few years, for which prices near par were obtained. The average yield of these securities was around 5%. The amount received from these sales was invested in long term, non-callable, high grade securities yielding slightly better than 6½%, which increased our annual income on this amount by approximately twenty-two hundred and fifty dollars ($2,250.00). Additional investments of income and of the Schouler and Boit funds have

been made to the amount of twenty-five thousand dollars ($25,000.00) to yield 6½%.

The eighteen thousand dollars ($18,000.) in the Building Fund has been invested in short term securities to yield about 6%.

The sales and purchases mentioned above were made with the approval of *all* the members of the Finance Committee.

INVESTMENTS

Schedule of Bonds

Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4	1995	$14,500.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4	1995 ADJ	9,000.00
Baltimore & Ohio R. R.	4	1959	3,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R.	4	1951	10,000.00
Boston & Albany R. R.	5	1938	10,000.00
Boston & Maine	4½	1944	6,000.00
Chicago Jct. Union Stock Yards	5	1940	10,000.00
Cleveland Short Line	4½	1961	10,000.00
Fitchburg	4	1927	9,000.00
Kansas City, Clinton & Springfield	5	1925	3,000.00
Long Island	4	1949	6,000.00
N. Y. Central & Hudson River	4	1934	15,000.00
No. Pacific Great Northern	6½	1936	10,000.00
Oregon Short Line	4	1929	10,000.00
Oregon Short Line	5	1946	10,000.00
Père Marquette R. R.	5	1956	15,000.00
Père Marquette R. R.	4	1956	2,000.00
Rio Grand Western	4	1939	5,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	4	1929	10,000.00
Boston Elevated Railway	5	1942	8,000.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec.	5	1939	10,000.00
Central Maine Power Co.	7	1941	10,000.00
Connecticut Light & Power Co.	5	1963	10,000.00
Connecticut Light & Power Co.	7	1951	10,000.00
Dedham Water Co.	5	1935	5,000.00
Detroit-Edison Co.	5	1933	10,000.00
Duquesne Light Co.	6	1949	10,000.00
Hartford Elec. Co.	7	1930	5,000.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. R. R.	5	1923	2,000.00
Mass. Lighting Co.	7	1930	10,000.00
New England Tel. & Tel Co.	5	1932	10,000.00
Old Colony Gas Co.	5	1931	5,000.00
Pacific Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1937	10,000.00
Plymouth Elec. Lt. Co.	5	1925	2,000.00
Carry forward			$284,500.00

Brought forward			$284,500.00
Railway & Light Sec. Co.	5	1946	5,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.	5	1929	5,000.00
Shawinigan Water & Power Co.	6	1950	12,000.00
So. California Edison Co.	6	1944	10,000.00
United Elec. Lt. & Pr. Co.	4½	1929	10,000.00
United Elec. Securities Co.	5	1936, '39, '40, '42	25,000.00
Washington Water Power Co.	5	1939	10,000.00
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1932	10,000.00
Western Union Tel. Co.	5	1938	10,000.00
Wilmington City Elec. Co.	5	1951	5,000.00
American Agricultural Chemical	7½	1941	10,000.00
American Sugar	6	1937	15,000.00
General Electric Co.	5	1952	10,000.00
U. S. Steel Corporation	5	1963	10,000.00
Danish Government	6	1942	10,000.00
City of Winnipeg	6	1946	15,000.00
Toronto Harbour Commissioners	4½	1953	10,000.00
Kingdom of Belgium	7½	1945	10,000.00
		Par value	476,500.00

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Pfd.	158 shs.	$15,800,00
Boston & Albany	35 "	3,500.00
Boston & Maine. 1st Pfd.	25 "	2,500.00
Old Colony R. R.	25 "	2,500.00
Chicago Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yds. Pfd.	150 "	15,000.00
American Glue Co. Common	25 "	2,500.00
American Smelting & Ref. Co. Pfd.	75 "	7,500.00
American Sugar Ref Co. Pfd.	50 "	5,000.00
Kansas City Stock Yds. Pfd.	302 "	30,200.00
Pacific Mills	200 "	20,000.00
Boston Real Estate Trust	6 "	6,000.00
State Street Exchange	5 "	500.00
United Fruit Co.	100 "	10,000.00
Merchants National Bank	85 "	8,500.00
National Shawmut Bank	50 "	5,000.00
Second National Bank	50 "	5,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	50 "	5,000.00
Cincinnati Gas & Elec. Co.	10 "	1,000.00
Cons. Gas, Elec. Lt. & Pr. of Balt. 8% Pfd.	50 "	5,000.00
Puget Sound Lt. & Power Co. Pfd.	52 "	5,200.00
" " " " " " Common	5 "	500.00
" " Power & Light Co. Prior Pfd.	10 "	1,000.00
	1518 "	$157,200.00

Building Fund

Am. Tel. & Tel. Co., 6s, 1924	$6,000.00
Edison Elec., 3y 5½s, 1925	6,000.00
Prov. British Columbia, 6s, 1925	6,000.00
	$18,000.00

Schedule of Savings Bank Books

M. A. Parker Fund	$1,563.18
Brattle St. Church Model Fund	214.38
	$1,777.56

Recapitulation

Bonds, par value	$476,500.00
Stocks, par value	157,200.00
Savings Bank Books	1,777.56
	$635,477.56
Building Fund	$18,000.00

Balance Sheet, March 31, 1922

Cash	$685.48	Funds, Exhibit II	$532,917.73
Investment Acct.	601,852.00	Unexpended Balances of Funds	69,619.75
	$602,537.48		$602,537.48

EXHIBIT I

Investment Account

Balance, April 1, 1921		$579,436.37
Added during year:		
Securities bought	$175,899.50	
Saving Bank Interest	77.33	175,976.83
		$755,413.20
Less Securities matured or sold		153,561.20
Balance March 31, 1922		$601,852.00

EXHIBIT II

Increase of Funds in Year 1921–1922

Amount of Funds, April 1, 1921		$517,650.26
Added during year:		
Centenary Funds:		
Anonymous Fund	$352.20	
J. L. Sibley Fund	4,071.30	
Robert A. Boit Fund	5,000.00	
James Schouler Fund	2,850.00	
Adams Fund	2,993.97	15,267.47
Total of Funds March 31, 1922		$532,917.73

EXHIBIT III

Accumulated Income of Funds

Balance Accumulated Income, April 1, 1921		$63,351.53
Income during year		41,855.20
		$105,206.73
Added to Principal Centenary Funds	$4,423.50	
Expenditures during year	31,163.48	35,586.98
Balance March 31, 1922		$69,619.75

EXHIBIT IV

Cash Account

Balance on hand, April 1, 1921			$1,565.42
Receipts during year:			
Publications	$565.75		
Photostat	4,216.85		
Royalties	200.00		
Gift of Mr. W. B. H. Dowse	1,200.00		
Credited to General Fund Income	$6,182.60		
Income from Investments	35,403.98		
Interest on Bank Balances	191.29		
" " Savings Bank Books	77.33		
Total Income	$41,855.20		
Credited to Income of Various Funds		$37,431.70	
" " Principal Centenary Funds		4,423.50	
		$41,855.20	
Robert A. Boit		5,000.00	
James Schouler		2,850.00	
Adams Fund accretions from royalties		2,993.97	
Investment Account:			
Sales and Securities Matured		153,561.20	
		$206,260.37	
Carry forward		$206,260.37	$1,565.42

CASH ACCOUNT — *Continued.*

Brought forward		$206,260.37	$1,565.42
Charges during year to March 31, 1921:			
Investment Account:			
Securities bought	$175,899.50		
Additions to Savings Bank	77.33	175,976.83	30,283.54
Balance forward			$31,848.96
Brought over			$31,848.96
Income Account:			
Bindery		$1,411.51	
Binding		579.96	
Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers, & MSS.		1,887.93	
Building:			
Cleaning	$538.37		
Engineer	1,289.20		
Fuel	904.27		
Furniture	321.95		
Light	503.73		
Repairs	1,231.62		
Telephone	166.74		
Water	72.22		
Insurance	67.95		
Supplies	49.65	5,145.70	
Photostat		4,796.45	
Portraits and Medals		921.10	
Postage		143.54	
Printing:			
Proceedings, vol. 54	$540.45		
" " 55	13.50		
House Journal	59.53		
Illustrations	649.88		
Miscellaneous	188.69	1,452.05	
Salaries:			
Librarians and Assistants	$5,490.00		
Editors and Assistants	7,243.32	12,733.32	
Stationery		118.44	
Treasurer's Office:			
Bond	$25.00		
Bookkeeper	1,000.00		
Safe Deposit Vault	60.00		
Certified Public Accountant	75.00	1,160.00	
Stationery		118.44	
		$31,163.48	31,163.48
Balance on hand, March 31, 1922			$685.48

EXHIBIT V.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF FUNDS FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1922.

	Balance Mar.31,'21	Income	Expenditure	Balance Mar.31,'22	Principal of Funds
Adams	$1,931.52	$2,223.86	$1,045.00	$3,110.38	$31,313.76
Amory	2,045.59	213.06	146.03	2,112.62	3,000.00
Appleton	4,521.06	866.64	1,410.00	3,977.70	12,203.00
Bigelow	617.51	142.04	126.55	633.00	2,000.00
Billings	4,305.95	710.19	649.88	4,366.26	10,000.00
Boit		355.09		355.09	5,000.00
Brattle St.	105.07	9.31		114.38	100.00
Chamberlain	207.92	87.52	66.22	229.22	1,232.33
Dawse	62.21	710.19	684.53	87.87	10,000.00
Ellis	196.60	2,248.92	2,317.44	128.08	31,666.66
Frothingham	3,183.57	213.06		3,396.63	3,000.00
General	3,448.43	10,210.00	9,513.30	4,145.13	56,709.16
Hunnewell	3,336.97	355.09		3,692.06	5,000.00
Lawrence	1,278.13	213.06		1,491.19	3,000.00
Lowell	873.24	213.06		1,086.30	3,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	5,716.46	710.19	911.74	5,514.91	10,000.00
Parker	88.68	68.02	87.50	69.20	1,000.00
Peabody	5,762.45	1,571.14	540.45	6,793.14	22,123.00
Salisbury	292.21	355.09	414.05	233.25	5,000.00
Savage	1,225.34	426.10	220.19	1,431.25	6,000.00
Schouler		202.40		202.40	2,850.00
C. A. L. Sibley	728.64	1,598.59	1,758.98	568.25	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	4,131.22	8,598.72	8,894.00	3,835.94	121,077.40
Slafter	367.23	71.01	41.12	397.12	1,000.00
Chas. Card Smith	799.61	1,065.28	833.32	1,031.57	15,000.00
Waterston No. 1	1,345.86	355.09	58.00	1,642.95	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	3,822.36	710.19	13.50	4,519.05	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	5,031.50	710.19		5,741.69	10,000.00
Waterston Library	596.20	275.20	81.68	789.72	3,875.14
R. C. Winthrop	4,329.81	710.19	890.00	4,150.00	10,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	580.12	167.93	115.00	633.05	2,364.66
Wm. Winthrop	1,729.98	355.09	345.00	1,740.07	5,000.00
Robert Winthrop	690.09	710.19		1,400.28	10,000.00
Total	$63,351.53	$37,431.70	$31,163.75	$69,619.75	$440,024.19
Sibley Centenary		4,071.30			85,497.30
Anonymous Centenary		352.20			7,396.24
Total Income		41,855.20			
Total Funds					532,917.73

Report of the Librarian

During the past year there have been added to the Library:

Books,	883	
Pamphlets,	1111	
Manuscripts, bound,	85	
Broadsides,	234	2313

These numbers show the normal growth of our collections. While the additions have not reached the totals of some recent years, they more than make up in value. Reports of the Librarian have been made from month to month, describing the more important gifts and purchases, and also the deposits. But the much larger number of the accessions not there mentioned have furnished many good and useful works, in general, and in local history, also some of bibliographical interest, as well as serial historical publications, and books of reference. Books and serial publications on English history and biography have continued to be sought for their use in connection with our American studies. The photostat has added copies of many rare and valuable pieces, including manuscripts and more than two hundred broadsides, impossible for us to obtain in their original form.

Our rich manuscript division has received, besides the volumes enumerated above, many thousands of single pieces, which eventually will be placed in folders for convenient use. The bindery has been kept busy doing a needful and important service in repairing, mounting, arranging, and in preparing papers for final binding. The Warren family papers, given by our associate Dr. J. Collins Warren, are still going through this process. The Livingston, Ridley, and Sedgwick papers, the valuable accession received at the March meeting, have been placed in strong temporary folders, marked as the gift of the donor, Dr. Charles L. Nichols. Another valuable gift relating to the Phips Expedition of 1690, and to the Arnold Expedition of 1775, given by Dr. Charles E. Banks, of Chicago, has been treated in the same way. The work of this department has been of great service to the Society.

The Library from its earliest days in 1791, has been an important feature of our history as an organization. The slow accumulations of many long years have brought together material of priceless value, and of great interest and importance to the student and investigator. The Library has gone along from year to year giving assistance in the chief function of the Society, the "diffusion of materials for American history" and desiring in its more recent years to open its doors wider to those seekers after the sources which we can supply. Many workers during the year have availed themselves of our hearty welcome and of such opportunities as the Society can afford, in preparation of works requiring extended researches. A large amount of time is required of the Library staff for such activities, to say nothing about the imperative demands in the routine work necessary to keep the Library in a good condition for efficient service.

Members and friends of the Society can render a good service in lending a helping hand in securing both gifts and deposits of printed and manuscript pieces. The most recent gift by our associate Dr. Charles L. Nichols is warmly appreciated. Several other members have made the Library the grateful recipient of material of value, as well as of copies of their own works. It will be a great encouragement to your Librarian to feel the sympathetic interest and support of the members in helping make the Library of the best service possible.

The Society accepted with regret the resignation of Mr. Charles Stearns on April 30, 1921, from his position as Assistant to the Librarian, having entered the service in July, 1899. The work of cataloguing, of which he had charge, has been taken up by Mrs. Clara P. Shepardson, who entered upon her duties on August 1, 1921.

Julius H. Tuttle,

Librarian

Report of the Cabinet-Keeper

Substantial additions to the Cabinet and to the Collection of coins, medals and currency have been made during the past year, which have been reported from month to month and need not be repeated here — reference being made to the published Proceedings.

Dr. Storer, the Curator, reports that 109 coins and medals of which 12 were of Massachusetts, and about 350 pieces of paper money of which 18 were of Massachusetts, have been added.

The loan exhibition in Ellis Hall during the fall and winter was very successful both in the remarkable character of the articles shown and in the attendance of visitors.

Several gifts to the Society have resulted directly from the exhibition.

Grenville H. Norcross,
Cabinet-Keeper

Captain Frothingham read the

Report of the Committee on the Library and Cabinet

This Committee, appointed to Examine and Report upon the Library and Cabinet of the Society, met on March 29, 1922, at the Rooms of the Society, in company with the Librarian, the Cabinet-Keeper, and the Curator of the Coin Collection. With these gentlemen, the Committee made an inspection of the collections in their charge.

It was an impressive experience, to be shown these possessions of the Society, and to realize their value for the study of American history. These great possibilities of future usefulness emphasize the urgent need of space for the proper accommodation of the Society's collections, which are now so crowded together as to be unavailable. This crowding can only be remedied by enlarging the Building of the Society.

It should be clearly stated that this necessary addition to the Building of the Society is recommended for other

reasons than solely for the good of the Society and its Members. It must be recognized that this enlarged building would be a public benefit, in the truest and broadest sense, for the people of New England.

The Exhibition, on the occasion of the Pilgrim Anniversary, was an object lesson on the good results that would follow, if sufficient space could be added to make the collections accessible and known to the public. In fact, this Exhibition taught a double lesson. Not only was it shown that the public would find interest and profit in historical collections, but it was also proved that there was a wealth of historical treasures in this community, of which the Society would be the natural custodian.

So pressing is the need of the addition to the Society's Building, and so evident the increased usefulness of the Society which would follow, that this necessity overshadows everything else. As the Members know, tentative plans have been made for an addition, which would contain five stories of fire-proof stacks. This would also comprise the much needed elevator, and the enlargement of the hall on the third story into a centre of the Library, for work and study. The extension of the Cabinet Room to the rear is also needed, and this would include a gain of valuable space in the additional basement, under this extension.

Every effort should be made by the Society to obtain this necessary enlargement of its Building.

The Society is doing valuable work in binding manuscripts and documents, and in making photostat reproductions of important historical documents. This good work is being seriously hampered by the present crowded conditions — and it is only temporary relief that can be obtained by disposing of newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets, which are outside the province of the Society.

As an example of the historical value of the Society's collections, which should be more widely known, this Committee would recommend that reproductions be made for the Society's "Proceedings," and for other proper uses, of the interesting group of three drawings by a British officer at the time of the Siege of Boston: (1) Plan of Boston, and

siege works, (2) View of Charles Town from Copse-hill Battery, (3) View of the Boston Lines. These are important drawings, very skilfully done. They have never been reproduced, and they would command wide interest.

THOMAS G. FROTHINGHAM
HENRY B. WASHBURN
GEORGE G. WOLKINS

Mr. DOWSE, for the Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, made a report, upon which a ballot was taken.

The officers are as follows:

President
HENRY CABOT LODGE

Vice-Presidents
ARTHUR LORD
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS

Recording Secretary
EDWARD STANWOOD

Corresponding Secretary
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER

Treasurer
ALLAN FORBES

Librarian
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE

Cabinet-Keeper
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS

Editor
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD

Members-at-Large of the Council

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN
RUSSELL GRAY
JOHN WOODFORD FARLOW
PAUL REVERE FROTHINGHAM
FRANCIS RUSSELL HART

General SCHAFF read a chapter from his forthcoming work on Jefferson Davis.

MEMOIR

OF

EDWARD EVERETT HALE

By PAUL REVERE FROTHINGHAM

No one who ever saw Edward Everett Hale could possibly forget him. No one who knew him could fail to be impressed by his powerful personality. Moreover, no one whom he had helped, or influenced, — and there were hundreds and thousands of such people, — could ever think of him except with gratitude and even reverence.

Physically, he was a big man! He was built on generous lines. Feet and hands were enormous. His head was Homeric. Much the same might be said of him mentally. He was large in his grasp of things, — the very opposite of narrow, or limited in outlook. He cherished few prejudices. He kept himself free from sects and parties of all kinds. He was exalted enough to look beyond them. He enjoyed a wide horizon.

Nor was it different when it came to moral attainments and to spiritual influence. He had a host of followers, an army of admirers, and countless friends. His friend and contemporary, Thomas Wentworth Higginson wrote of him: "Probably no man in America except Beecher aroused and stimulated so many minds as Hale, and his personal popularity was unbounded."

He was the youngest member of the class of 1839 at Harvard, entering college at the early age of 13! He outlived all his classmates, — most of them by many years, — and just as certainly he towered above them all in fame and

influence. In all respects, therefore, Dr. Hale, as he came familiarly to be called, was a marked and famous man. And he was famous, among other things, for the multiplicity of his interests, and for the variety of departments in which he attained distinction. He was a minister of Religion, a man of Letters, and a Social Reformer, — and in each of these three lines he established a national and even international reputation. Moreover, as a Man of Letters, he was a writer of popular fiction, an essayist, and a poet, as well as an historian.

In the line of Social Reform he was organizing a church-club one day, setting on foot a society for helping immigrants the next, and then on the third day proving himself a Prophet among peace advocates by suggesting that a Permanent High Court should be established among the nations, and telling how it could be organized. And when it comes to his career as a Minister of Religion nothing is more distinctive of him than the way his influence ignored denominational barriers! Many of the readers of his books had no idea that the popular author of "The Man Without a Country" was the popular Pastor of a busy city church; and among those who did know, there were many who never dreamed that he belonged to the heretical sect of Unitarians.

No one, therefore, can consider the career of Dr. Hale, whether adequately or only briefly, without taking account of him in these separate lines. From early years to extreme old age, he was active in all three of them at once. He was all the time, and almost equally, — man of Letters, man of good works, and man of God! In this fact lay his strength as well as weakness, — the secret of his success as well as the cause of such minor failures as he made in life. And yet, it is probably a mistake to say that he would have accomplished more by attempting less, — that he would have harvested a better crop, if he had scattered seed with more careful hand! It is nearer the truth to say, that he achieved much because he was so inherently versatile, unceasingly active, and instinctively disposed to acts of helpfulness and service. It was as natural for him to want to help a fellow-creature, as it was for him to write a story, or to preach a sermon. He did all three with spontaneous ease, and he did

them all three at the same time throughout his long and active life.

Perhaps the most controlling and far reaching influence in the career of Dr. Hale is to be found in the fact that his father was the editor of a newspaper. It was one of the best newspapers of the day; but still, it was a newspaper! It required haste in preparation and called for variety of printed matter, rather than careful statement, or precision of detail. He said once of himself, that he was "cradled in the sheets of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*." And the peculiar odor of the Daily Press could be detected in his doings to the end.

For instance, he was only about 10 or 12 years old, when his father brought him one day a brief publication in French, told him to make a translation, and promised to have it printed in the newspaper. The boy was nonplussed. He knew no French. But his older sister knew a little. In accordance with the mother's advice, therefore, the two children betook themselves to a dictionary and worked out a translation which was printed, in due season, in the newspaper. Thus he took his first step in the realm of Letters; and never afterwards did the art of publishing have any fear for him. He was always ready, at almost any moment, to write upon a great variety of subjects, and to translate impulse into action.

In college, he took his place quite naturally in the Literary Set; won two Bowdoin prizes; was in the first eight of the Phi Beta Kappa, and graduated second in his class, having been appointed Class Poet. Like most college youths he read widely; and, unlike many, he read deeply! It was indicative of his intention, already taken to become a minister, that we find him reading Emerson's "Nature." "It's an odd sort of book," he set down in his diary; "but I like it better than most every one else seems to; though to be sure there's a good deal in it that I can't understand."

Later on, in his senior year, he heard Emerson's famous Divinity School Address. His disapproval was even more distinctly expressed. "I did not like it at all," he wrote. "The sermon seemed to me in singularly bad taste. Mr. Emerson's stock of startling phrases concerning God, mind, soul, etc., is getting exhausted, and I think his reputation

will fall accordingly." In all of this, we can see the influence of early training. He was reared in a very conservative school, and his parents found many to agree with them in thinking that the Concord Sage, with his Transcendentalism, was not wholly of a sound and balanced mind!

But in his junior year the college diary set down something much more significant than these literary criticisms, — something which reveals the youth to have been, in a very characteristic and a noble sense, the father of the man! Under September 14, 1838, occurs this entry: — "I went to the poorhouse to see our old Goody who has had a stroke of palsy." He went to the poorhouse, this lad of only 16, on an errand of helpfulness and mercy! I wonder how many of the other fellows, rooming in that college building, went to see in her weakness the paralyzed old woman who had made their beds and swept their rooms? Perhaps they *all* went, I don't know. But, what I *do* know is, that for more than 70 years after that little act of courtesy and consideration, Edward Everett Hale of the Harvard Class of '39 was constantly in one way or another, going to poorhouses, and to all sorts of out of the way places, — going everywhere, in short, that people needed help and could be given cheer! Then, and always afterwards, his was a life of eagerness to "Lend a Hand!" Indeed, so much was this the case, that, more than 80 years later, Lyman Abbott could write of him as "an *American Abou Ben Adhem,*" whose name "led all the rest," because of love for his fellow-man!

There can be no doubt, therefore, as regards the fundamental and controlling impulse of his life! Whatever else he might be, and in later years was known to be, — whether author, story-writer, historian, Prophet, or Reformer, — he was first and foremost a *minister!* He was an author because he was a Minister of Religion first, and except for the love of his fellow man he never would have been the Preacher, Prophet and Reformer, whose name and influence reached across the sea.

A son, who later came to be his biographer, has ventured to suggest that this American Abou Ben Adhem went into the Ministry of Religion because of the time he thus would have for literary work. He quotes certain sayings to sustain

this view. But the point was not well taken. From early years it seems to have been assumed in the family that the boy was to enter the ministry and no decided "Step" was necessary, or implied, when he did so! From first to last he was a vitally religious man! His faith was not concerned with formulas, dogmas, or "Articles"; it was first-hand, personal, direct. As a young man he felt himself "called" to the work; and like many another Prophet he could look back to moments of definite inspiration. Just as Channing, when a youth in college, saw the heavens open in a Cambridge meadow underneath a clump of willows, and received what he called a "message from the Spirit," so it was with Edward Everett Hale. The account that he gave of the experience is well worth quoting. It deserves a place in Mystical Literature, and proves this Boston boy, just out of Harvard College, the spiritual heir of Francis of Assisi, of Fénelon, and of Madame Guyon. The experience occurred in 1844, and that he wrote it out, more than half a century later, shows how deep an impression it had made, — shaping, indeed, a whole long life.

"I was at Albany," he says, "where I had been very much alone. . . . Perhaps it was to this loneliness that I owe a revelation which stands out in my memories of life. I had been reading in my musty dark bed-room by an air-tight stove. I think I was reading the Revue des Deux-Mondes. But I put the book down for what people used to call *Reflection,* and I saw, or perceived, or felt, that I was not alone, and could not be alone. This Present Power knows me, and loves me! I know Him, and love Him. He is here: I am here: we are together! And it is a companionship much closer than I could have with any human being sitting in that chair! Of course," he adds, "I do not mean that before this I had never prayed to God, or waited for an answer. But it is true that the sense of perfect, or absolute companionship — the give and take sense of society, took form in my life then, by the side of that rusty stove, and in that musty little room at the hotel Delavan, such as it had never taken before."

Thus this great man "experienced Religion" in his early manhood. It was an experience that never left him. He

could no more forget the incident than Isaiah could forget his vision of "the throne that was high and lifted up," or Ezekiel the scene that took place by the river of Chebar; or the Apostle Paul the light that burst upon him as he journeyed to Damascus.

That mystical experience formed forever afterwards the central feature of his faith. His listeners heard him more than once affirm in his later years that he could put his whole creed into four words! Those words, he used to say with explosive emphasis, are these: "Our Father who art." Not *my* Father he used to go on and explain; not *your* Father; but "*our* Father." And not our Father was *wast,* in some distant past, long centuries ago; but "who *art,*" — a living, constant Presence with us all!

In this simple faith, and guided by this thought, he carried on an active and effective ministry! Thirty years after the vision at the Delavan, when some one wrote and asked about his beliefs, and how faith could be secured, he answered: "For faith, the soul needs to pray simply to God, 'Father, help me'; that is quite enough!" But, he added, "you can no more argue a man into faith with the best of arguments than you can whip him into faith with the best of whips." Here is something that must be felt; that comes as a result of quiet thought and lonely meditation.

Moreover, it is not generally known that this mystic tendency to meditation was always strong in this restlessly-active man. One of the great books on Mysticism is Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics.* It is written in the form of dialogues, or conversations. A group of friends relate their experiences, and discuss historic visions. So Dr. Hale once undertook to carry on a correspondence with a highly-gifted brother minister, in which each should reveal to the other his inmost musings, revelations, and spiritual feelings! It is a thousand pities that the press of life soon caused the correspondence to be discontinued. If it had been carried on at length, and published, it would have given evidence of a deeply-spiritual, meditative, mystical side to one of the most energetic, busy men who ever lived!

With such a vivid consciousness of spiritual things, his ministry was bound to be a fruitful one. He served but two

churches, — the Church of the Unity in Worcester for a period of ten full years; and then the South Congregational Society in Boston from 1856 until his death, — a period of more than fifty years But all this time he served the whole community as well! He was an active minister-at-large; whose parish was the world — his "people" all whom he could help.

He used to set it down in his diary about once every year, that he was determined to curtail these outside interests, and confine himself to parish claims. But it could no more be than Amos could remain a herdsman in Tekoa, or than the great Apostle could resist the call from Macedonia! And yet, with endless outside interests, it is amazing how faithful he continued to parish needs, and denominational affairs. No man was ever less of a sectarian. Not a drop of bigot's blood was in his veins. He was always Catholic in spirit; but he valued higher than anything else his Congregational inheritance. He was a confirmed Liberal and a conscientious Unitarian; but he claimed fellowship with Christians everywhere, and with human beings of all races!

When Booker Washington first came to Boston, — long before he had come to be famous, — a big man gave him a lift with his heavy travelling bag, as he alighted from the train. A bewildered stranger in an unfamiliar northern city, the black youth, who was born in slavery, was then guided to a street car. The good Samaritan was Dr. Hale, — always the friend of any one in need of help.

But in spite of his incessant service in the ministry, the name of Edward Everett Hale was getting all the time to be more and more the name of a man of Letters. It would be difficult, if not quite impossible, to say just when he first came forward as an author. As we have seen, he was cradled in a newspaper, and the rattle most familiar to his early years was the rattle of the printing press. He was born among books, and pen and paper were his toys. It can be definitely said, however, that his first real success as an author came through his "Man Without a Country." And, as not infrequently happens, the book which first attracted attention, and securely made his reputation, still remains the most popular and famous that he ever wrote.

It was Dr. Hale's own opinion that the best of all his stories was "In His Name." And that tale of the early Waldenses has the supreme advantage over nearly all his other works of fiction, in not being an *extravaganza*. It was neither whimsical nor farcical, — but simple, natural and touching. I read it for the first time very recently, and it was with difficulty that I could bring myself to put it down until it had been finished.

Dr. Hale's general method in fiction can hardly be commended as the highest. It was his custom "to make a practically impossible assumption," — to outline, or picture, a situation that was outside the range of the credible, "and then proceed to tell the story in a logical and realistic manner." I imagine that his method grew out of the fact that he generally read these stories to church gatherings, or at Sunday-School entertainments. The first necessity on such rather dreary occasions is to catch the attention, and wake up the assembly. And this he did somewhat to the detriment of literary art. But he did it with consummate skill, and it is an evidence of his genius that his "Man Without a Country" was generally accepted as historic. From the day of its first appearance to the present moment, it has had a host of readers, and it taught a lesson that the growth of internationalism has not yet made unnecessary. Moreover, as a work of fiction, it goes far to establish the soundness of the author's own estimate of where his true talent really lay. He often used to say of himself that he was by nature a story-teller.

Perhaps it was because of this that he treated History as lightly as he did, — caring more for the general sweep of events than for accuracy in detail. He loved nothing better in his later years than drawing on his memories, as he sought to make the past a living, throbbing, actual thing. But with the multitude of his interests, he could not, or did not, take the time to verify his statements, so that his stories, rather than his histories, redound to his literary reputation. He believed in original sources, but he was often in too much of a hurry to seek for them. In general, too, his dictum that history must first of all be interesting, caused him to lay too little emphasis on accuracy; while his memory, although remarkable, was not entirely infallible.

But to many people Dr. Hale was neither minister, nor man of Letters, but first, and foremost, and forever, an indefatigable philanthropist, and leader in all phases of good work! There was hardly a movement for helping the poor, lifting up the fallen, recovering the lost, visiting the imprisoned and the fatherless, and generally for bringing light into socially dark places, that he did not champion and abet! For nearly four score years he was absolutely restless in his passion to be of use, to help along God's kingdom, to be about the "Father's Business," and to "lend a hand." No one occupying a pulpit was ever more convinced than he that the Christian minister's first function was to engage in Christian work. The preaching of good sermons was of less importance in his eyes than the promotion of good causes.

And yet, with all his enthusiasm for human welfare he elaborated no scheme for social salvation. He promulgated no system of which he came to be the champion. He originated no new method of reform like Arnold Toynbee, nor any pioneering work like General Booth. Radical reforms, unpopular causes failed to strike the spark of fire in his breast. He was brought up in a conservative social school. His mother, who was a sister of Edward Everett, could describe the spare-room in the Hale household, as "a Sanctum where the voice of the young pleader for the slave was never heard." This man, therefore, was not a theoretical, but a practical Reformer. He was a day by day worker for the right: not a slashing, critical exponent of the evils of the social system in the midst of which we live. He set himself to cure troubles that were *near* at *hand*, and did not undertake to tell the world how all social troubles could be eliminated. In the matter of social diseases he was a "general practitioner," and not a surgical "specialist." He was the friend of *all* good movements, the fanatical exponent of no one in particular! As his old friend, Dr. Lyman Abbott, has written of him: "He was not a partisan of any party in either church or state; nor the enlisted adherent of any *cause*. He was not an Abolitionist, nor a Prohibitionist, nor a Socialist — nor was he enrolled in the ranks of their opponents. He was an advocate of many causes; but he did not belong to any organized body of Reformers."

In all of this, however, there was one conspicuous exception; and because of this exception, he proved himself "A Prophet of the 20th Century;" and about as clear-eyed and far-seeing a Prophet as recent centuries have seen. The name of Dr. Hale will probably be remembered longest in connection with World-Peace, and because he foresaw a particular need if Peace were ever to be permanent. This need was that of a permanent *International Tribunal,* — a *Supreme Court of the Nations!* As early as 1885 he began to preach and prophesy upon the matter; and he never ceased his prophecies until death took him to the Judgment Seat of God. In 1889, in the course of a sermon which was entitled "The Twentieth Century," which was preached at Washington probably with some of the Supreme Court Judges before him in the congregation, he went for the first time with some detail into the subject. He said: "The 20th Century will apply the word of the Prince of Peace to international life. The wisdom of statesmen will devise the solution which soldiers and statesmen will accept with thankfulness. . . . The suggestion will come from one of the six great Powers. It will come from a nation which has no large permanent military establishment; that is to say, it will probably come from the United States. This nation, in the most friendly way, will propose to the other Great Powers to have, each one, a jurist of world-wide fame, who, with the other five, shall form a permanent tribunal of the highest dignity. Everything will be done to give this tribunal the honor and respect of the world. As an international court it will be organized without reference to any special case under discussion. Then it will exist! Timidly, at first, and with a certain curiosity, two nations will refer to it some international question, — not of large importance, — which has perplexed their negotiations. The tribunal will hear counsel, and will decide. Their decision will be the first in a series which will mark the great victory of the 20th Century."

Such was his prophecy when it first was made! He repeated it often. He elaborated it. He got people familiar with the thought and the principle. He explained why arbitration methods did not meet the need, nor offer a solution. "Arbitration," he said with prophetic insight, "is not the

remedy. Arbitrators are selected after a controversy has arisen, and passions and prejudices are aroused. They represent the two parties, generally with an umpire to hold the balance between them. No fundamental principles are settled by their decision; — only the immediate question is settled, and that usually by a compromise! A Permanent Court exists before the controversy arises, its existence tends to abate the prejudices and passions which that controversy otherwise would kindle. . . . And by its decisions it settles principles that will prevent future disputes of a similar character from arising."

At the time, in the early 90's, all this seemed the picture of a Poet; the fantasy of a Preacher; an old man's dream! But it was a vision, not a dream: and the aged seer was never weary of unfolding it. He came back and back to it at the Mohonk Conferences; and he preached about it so incessantly that the people in his pews grew tired of the subject. He was thirty years, or more, ahead of his time; that was all! He was obeying his own motto to "Look forward, and not back." Had he lived to see his prophecy fulfilled; the Permanent Court established, and the Judges actually elected by the League of Nations, his only possible regret would have been that his own country failed to lead the way, and was not among the other nations which chose the fifteen Judges.

But that was perhaps a mere detail, — the outcome of forces which could not have been foreseen! Surely, however, it is most appropriate, that the Court should actually have been organized; that the Judges should have been sworn to their duties, and have taken their places on this International Bench, in the centennial year of the Prophet, who saw them there in vision more than 30 years ago.

In the days to come, when an Art Commission undertakes fittingly to adorn the International Supreme Court-Room in the Peace Palace at the Hague, a prominent place should be set aside for some memorial to Edward Everett Hale. Perhaps there will be a portrait of him, or a bust. Perhaps there will be a fresco on the walls which will show a Preacher, in a black Geneva gown, leaning over a pulpit, and unfolding the vision that was given him of God.

But whether it be outwardly, or only on the unseen walls

of time, the memorial of this 20th Century Prophet is certain to endure.

Edward Everett Hale was born in Boston, Mass., April 3, 1822, the son of Nathan, and Sarah Preston (Everett) Hale. He studied at the Boston Public Latin School, and entering Harvard at the early age of 13, graduated in the class of 1839.

For two years he served as an usher in the Public Latin School. October 13, 1852, he married at Hartford, Connecticut, Emily Baldwin Perkins, by whom he had a large family of children.

He was minister of the Church of the Unity, Worcester, Mass., 1846–56, and of the South Congregational Society, Boston, Mass., from 1856 till the time of his death. In 1903 he was appointed Chaplain to the United States Senate.

In 1879, he was given the Degree of S. T. D. by Harvard; in 1901 an LL.D. by Dartmouth, and in 1904, the same Degree by Williams College.

He was an overseer of Harvard, 1866–1875, and 1876–1887.

In 1887, he was appointed a member of the first Board of Preachers to the University.

He died in his home in Roxbury, Mass., June 10, 1909.

MAY MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P.M., the first Vice-President, Mr. LORD, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Miss Georgiana Weld Sargent, of New York, thirteen volumes of newspapers, edited by her father, the late John Osborne Sargent (H. C. 1830): *The Boston Daily Atlas,* July 1 to Sept 11, 1834. *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer,* Nov. 21, 1837, to March 29, 1839. *The Battery,* Washington, published at the instance and request of the Whig Executive Committee of Congress, a complete file from July 6, 1848, to Jan. 29, 1849. *The Republic,* daily, Washington, June 13, 1849, to Aug. 27, 1853. Messrs. A. C. Bullitt and Sargent edited the paper until their disapproval of the policy of the Administration in regard to the Galphin Claims, when Mr. Allen A. Hall became editor until Sept. 11, 1850, when on the death of General Taylor, Mr. Sargent resumed the editorship until June, 1853. *The Weekly Republic,* Washington, May 23, 1850, to July 24, 1851. *The Signal,* Washington, devoted to the support of Winfield Scott for President, and William A. Graham as Vice-President, from July 1, to Sept. 11, 1852.

From James Lawrence, the original manuscript by William H. Prescott, of Vol. III of his *Philip the Second.*

From Miss Mary Lincoln Eliot, of Cambridge, nine letters and two fragments, written by Jeremy Belknap to Rev. John Eliot, April 19, 1777, to March 20, 1786.

From Henry W. Cunningham, an order of Gov. Francis Bernard, Sept. 23, 1762, two papers, 1765, relating to the administration of the Estate of Joseph Crocker, late of Barnstable, and a number of books, pamphlets and broadsides.

From Charles H. Taylor, Jr., an account, kept by John Phillips of work done in digging a trench and finishing breastworks at Castle William.

From Mrs. Albion D. Wilde, of Canton, by deposit, an old

plan of the Mill property of Col. Paul Revere, on the East Branch of the Neponset River in Canton, formerly the Government Powder Mills, bought by him in 1801. The plan shows Revere's dwelling-house, various buildings, Leonard and Kinsley's iron works, and several dams.

From Albert H. and Florence L. Moore, by deposit, a letter of Horatio Gates to Artemas Ward, March 6, 1776, and three commissions, to Nahum Ward, as Ensign, June 24, 1807, and as Captain July 14, 1810, and to Ithamar Ward, as Justice of the Peace, June 10, 1819.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, a lead pencil made by Henry David Thoreau at Concord, Mass., probably about 1840, when for a short time he applied himself to the craft of his father, John Thoreau. It is stamped "J. Thoreau & Son. Concord Mass.," and was given by Miss Ellen Emerson to Miss Frances L. Norcross then living in Concord, who in turn gave it to Mrs. Marrs.

From Henry W. Cunningham, a framed photograph of the old West Church, Cambridge Street, Boston, of an interior, and of its last minister, Dr. Cyrus A. Bartol; also a photograph of the last horse-car in Boston, discontinued in December, 1900; and several engravings.

From Miss Catharine Austin, of Newport, R. I., a Franklin medal, in silver, awarded to James T. Austin, of the Centre Grammar School, in 1793, this being the second year of the awarding of these medals.

From William O. Comstock, of Brookline, the medal of Harriet Beecher Stowe.

From William L. Willey, the medal of Holborn Restaurant, London, presented to the Members of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company at the time of their visit there in 1896.

By purchase, the medal of Joseph Hodges Choate, issued by the Century Club and the American Numismatic Society, 1922.

James Truslow Adams, of Bridgehampton, New York, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Announcement was made of the appointment of the following Committees:

House Committee: JOHN W. FARLOW, FREDERIC WINTHROP, and WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT.

Finance Committee: FRANCIS R. HART, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and ARTHUR LORD.

Library Committee: EDWARD STANWOOD, CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH, and CHARLES K. BOLTON.

Committee to publish the *Proceedings*: HENRY CABOT LODGE, ARTHUR LORD, and EDWARD STANWOOD.

It was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury, to be expended in such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The Vice-President, announcing the death of Robert S. Rantoul, a Resident Member, said:

Our associate, Robert Samuel Rantoul, died at Beverly Farms on the first instant. He was elected a Resident Member on February 13, 1908, and was present at most of the meetings until March, 1917, his last attendance. In January, 1909, in his first communication to the Society he gave his reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln. In March, 1914, he presented and read the report of the Council of the Society. In March, 1915, he wrote a letter to the President relating to the defeat of the biennial elections measure before the Massachusetts General Court in 1884, which was printed in the *Proceedings*. Other communications were the Memoirs of William P. Upham, John Noble, William Endicott, and Thomas Franklin Waters, beside the tribute to Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters, printed in the *Proceedings* as his Memoir. Mr. Rantoul served as a Member of the Council from 1911 to 1914.

Mr. FORD read the following tribute:

Robert Rantoul came to America from Middleton, Kinross, Fifeshire, in 1769, the first of the family to migrate. Not willingly, for he was a victim of the press gang and came in a British ship of war. Leaving the service he settled at Salem, following the sea until he was lost in 1783 at the age of thirty in the wreck of the *Iris*, a vessel owned by William Gray, Jr. His son Robert (1778–1858) [1] held a number of

[1] In the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, v. are printed extracts from a MS. reminiscences of this Robert Rantoul, 1848–1858.

local offices in Essex County and a grandson Robert (1805–1852) took an active part in western railroad development and attained national prominence, succeeding Webster in the Senate of the United States. He lived to attend only one session, hardly sufficient time to test his standing in that body. His son, Robert Samuel Rantoul, was born June 2, 1832. Though born in Salem and long a resident of Salem he passed his early years in other places. That he associated in his youth only with his elders he considered unfortunate, but that probably hastened his early development and did not interfere with his education, which took the usual course, through dames' schools, the Beverly Academy, the Boston Latin School — "a bright chapter in my life," he records — where he became practised in public speaking. He entered Harvard, where he "took no rank" as he says himself, and was in Dane Law School 1854–1856. In 1856 he came to Salem and was at once interested in local politics and in the Frémont campaign of that year. He was a member of the legislature at twenty-six, collector of the port at thirty-three, mayor at fifty-eight, and from 1860 to 1889 and after 1892 he held no public office except for two years in the General Court (1883–1884). A republican from 1855, in 1888 he became a democrat, believing that his old party was abusing the confidence of the public.

To have seen a place like Salem grow for more than sixty-five years was in itself an experience. The shipping interests gave way to manufactures and the city of 1922 was hardly to be associated in spirit with that of 1856. To keep alive an interest in its history and to preserve the records of the ruling families of the past was the task which a small circle of Salem citizens set out to accomplish. There had been a "Social Library" since 1770, rich in scientific works, to which Bowditch the great mathematician acknowledged his indebtedness; there had been an Essex Historical Society since 1821, merged in 1848 into the Essex Institute, and printing *Historical Collections* since 1859. In more recent times the leading spirits were Henry Wheatland, Abner C. Goodell, Jr., Henry F. Waters, and William P. Upham, — to name a few — who were thoroughly imbued with the historical fervor and entirely competent to dig out what was

of value from the records of the past. Mr. Rantoul made some early contributions to the *Collections,* the first appearing in 1863. They concerned the Rantoul family, or notes on the topography of Salem and the environs, or biographical sketches of members of the Institute. In 1882 he tried a higher flight in a paper on the Essex Junto, and after retirement from public office he turned more seriously to historical writing, finding a congenial occupation and deserved reputation. As President of the Institute from 1896–1904 he made a number of contributions, setting a good example to others. It was in his presidency and with his countenance that his able colleague, Mr. George Francis Dow, enlarged the printing activity of the Institute and inaugurated a series of historical volumes that have made Essex one of the best known counties in the Commonwealth.

His last visit to the Massachusetts Historical Society, to which he was elected a member in 1908, was a year ago. He then showed little evidence of age, still erect in carriage, and with the ruddy face, bright eye, and steady walk which I remember at my first meeting with him more than twenty years ago. He was a ready speaker, an inheritance of his early years, and possessed an accurate memory for names and dates. His readings in history were almost entirely on local lines, but in them he held his own among antiquarians, the more because of a certain assertiveness in his pronouncements. He was of Scotch blood and a conviction once taken was well-nigh unshakable. He would listen to arguments on the other side of a question but rarely saw reason to change his opinion. His writings are touched with the orator's methods, read as if they were intended to be spoken rather than printed. They may have reflected the editorial tone, for he had at one time been a writer of leaders for the *Transcript,* and had been offered the editorship in 1875. In conversation he had a fund of memories and anecdotes with a distinct personal flavor and a strong sense of humor, and when tapped it flowed so freely that at times he would laughingly offer a half apology. In later years he became deaf and this restricted his social pleasures as well as his attendance here. In 1916 he printed for distribution among his friends a volume of *Personal Recollections,* but it deals

rather with experiences in Europe than in Salem. Perhaps he felt that in his many contributions to historical publications he had given sufficient of his Massachusetts relations. Yet there is room to regret that he had not used his years of leisure to write more systematically an account of his life. He was born five months before Jackson was elected to his second term, had seen frequently Daniel Webster, had been commissioned collector of customs in the port of Salem by Lincoln, and had been deprived of office by the influence of General Butler. In any other community Mr. Rantoul would have been regarded as a public feature, for in his full eighty-nine years of life he had seen the modern world develop, associated with many who are accounted notable and great, and yet preserved a certain intimate connection with this world of change, at times warmly sympathetic with the movement that had made the Massachusetts of his youth a thing of memory only. It was with a consciousness of early promise and as early performance that he wrote: "If it [my life] gave promise of more than it has made good, I may plead that, as a race, we mature early." The high qualities of the man may best be seen in the history of the Class of 1853 which he prepared in 1913, a fine appreciation of his classmates and broad in its outlook on life.

Dr. SHATTUCK made the following statement:

There were recently discovered in the house of my brother, Dr. George Brune Shattuck, a mass of old letters and accounts which proved to be those of my ancestor, Caleb Davis, of Boston. They numbered several thousands and were in their "original packages," probably not having been disturbed since they were filed more than a century ago. They extend from 1761 to 1797 and contain much of economic history, for they describe the mercantile operations of a Boston merchant of wide connections. In colonial days his operations were carried on with the southern colonies, a few of the West Indies and in an occasional adventure with England or the Mediterranean, all under the rule of the navigation laws of that time. With him were associated in shipping voyages three brothers, Amasa, Joshua and

Nathaniel. The War for Independence interfered with the regular course of trade and irregular voyages to neutral islands in the Caribbean Sea or to France or Holland became the rule — involving great risk of capture and loss of ship and merchandise. After the peace of 1783 new trade connections were sought and the operations of Caleb Davis were greatly expanded. In the 80's and 90's he traded with Malaga, Lisbon, Cadiz, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, Nantes and Bordeaux, Glasgow, London, Liverpool, Bristol and Newry, and St. Petersburg — a truly formidable list, besides his transactions in the West Indies and the Southern States. From such material history is written, and while names of writers count but little, there were found letters or accounts from John and Samuel Adams, Washington, Heath, Gerry, Gideon Hawley, Paul Revere, Samuel Osgood, Hector St. John, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King, and Nathan Dane, on public matters as well as private business. Recognizing the historical value of the collection my brother and myself present it to the Society to form a part of the Davis-Shattuck collection already here.

Dr. J. C. Warren exhibited, with brief remarks, a colored English caricature by Gillray (1801), on the use of the Perkins Metallic Tractor.

Mr. Norcross read the following letter of Jefferson Davis, at Beauvoir, Mississippi:

To James Cephas Derby

Beauvoir, Harrison Co. Missi. Oct. 6th 1878

J. C. Derby, Esqr.

My dear Sir, — I have the pleasure to acknowledge yours of the 26th Ult. also the two books, and interesting magazines which you had the kindness to send to me. I do not think you have previously mentioned to me anything of " the copy of Confederate Records belonging to Mr. Gerry," probably you did so in a letter to Major Walthall. I thank you for offering to borrow them for me, and if you will do so, they shall be carefully returned as soon as no longer required for my work.

I seldom hear directly from Major Walthall, for he has not only been very hard at work, but recently has not been quite well. It is to be hoped that circumstances will soon permit him to return.

The time is near at hand when frost may be expected at Memphis and the effect it produces has usually been felt for several degrees of latitude south of the place where it occurred. We are here surrounded by it, and the circle steadily narrows, but my residence is so isolated that we may fairly hope not to be invaded by the infection. The disease however had this year some characteristics hitherto unknown, and the suffering has been, and is more general and severe than that of any previous epidemic. The noble generosity of the Northern people in this day of our extreme affliction has been felt with deep gratitude and has done more for the fraternization of which many idly prate, than would many volumes of rhetorical assurance.

Again thanking you for your very kind courtesies, I am, Respectfully and truly yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Mr. TUTTLE presented, in behalf of Mr. STIMSON, who was unable to be present, the *Army Portfolio*, No. 1, by Capt. Daniel Powers Whiting, of the Seventh Infantry, U.S.A., containing five colored lithographs of the Army Camp near Corpus Christi, Texas, October, 1845, and positions about Monterey, in September and October, 1846; also the Landing of the U. S. Army under General Scott on the Beach near Vera Cruz, March 9, 1847, drawn by Lieut. Charles C. Barton. With these Mr. Stimson also gave four large contemporary photographs of the battlefield of Gettysburg, July, 1863, by F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia. These were given to Mr. Stimson by his late father-in-law, Major Richard L. Ashhurst of Philadelphia, who was First Lieutenant and Adjutant of the 150th Pennsylvania Volunteers (Bucktail regiment). Major Ashhurst was "promoted Captain by brevet for meritorious services at Pollock's Mills and at the battle of Chancellorsville . . . and Major of Volunteers by the brevet for distinguished gallantry at the Battle of Gettysburg," where he was seriously wounded and invalided after the first day's battle.

Mr. FRANCIS R. HART read a paper on Sir Henry Morgan, based upon a chapter in a forthcoming work.

Dr. R. M. LAWRENCE read extracts from a volume about to be published by him on town life in Boston.

In recognition of the resignation of Mr. RHODES of the Vice-Presidency at the annual meeting and his approaching departure for an extended stay in Europe Mr. FORD said:

Mr. RHODES: — You have been a member of this Society for nearly thirty years and a Vice-President for eighteen years, exceeding in length of service all of your predecessors in office. You entered in the presidency of Dr. Ellis and took an active part in that of Mr. Adams. You are among the small number of members who, by sharing in the direction and responsibilities, are familiar with the traditions and permanent policy of the Society. The Society honored you by admitting you and by conferring such offices and duties as it required of you. You, in turn, have honored the Society by performing what it asked and by giving to it the weight of your name and profession. As an historian we recognize your authority; as a member of the Society we have accepted and rewarded to the extent of our power your service; as an officer we have admitted your devotion to duties and functions; as a man we have given proof of our esteem; as a friend, we have bestowed our affection. I doubt if in the long list of deserved honors you have received, there is any one from which you have derived so many constant reminders of pleasant association and wide usefulness. In interrupting, temporarily we sincerely trust, your intimate connection with us, we give you every wish for — the best, at all times and in all places. Here you will always find a welcome and full comradeship.

MEMOIR

OF

MELVILLE MADISON BIGELOW

By WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN

Melville Madison Bigelow was a survival of a race of scholarly lawyers now almost, if not quite, extinct in the United States. He was born in the middle West, came East to pursue his legal studies, and was best appreciated in England. He was one of a small group of American lawyers who have achieved international distinction in the field of pure scholarship. A Nobel prize in literature has never been awarded an American. Professor Bigelow perhaps came as near as anyone to fulfilling the requirements for such a prize by his researches into the beginnings and growth of the Common Law. He was quite different from the modern legal specialist, who exhausts, and is exhausted by, the narrow field to which he devotes his meticulous powers, therefore misses the massive sweep of legal growth for the finespun distinctions set up in particular cases. Henry Wheaton, reporter, diplomatist, and writer on International Law, Mr. Justice Story, teacher and writer on Commercial and Constitutional Law, and Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, legal author and orator, the first named reporter and the last two members of the greatest Court in Christendom, more nearly of the American Bar approached in their influence on great branches of the Law the learning and influence of Professor Bigelow.

Professor Bigelow devoted his entire life first and last to the study, teaching, and exposition of well nigh the whole body of the law which defines the civil rights and duties of

Melville W. Bigelow

the English-speaking peoples. He brought to his life task an unusual combination of talents. He was a born student and investigator; he was a tireless worker; he possessed unusual powers of analysis; and in addition he was gifted with imagination, the historical sense, and a philosophic temper. He mastered the Common Law; he gained a profound knowledge of the Civil Law; and he was said to be versed in the Law Ecclesiastical.

The itinerant life of the Rev. William Enos Bigelow brought him with his wife, Daphne Florence Madison, to Eaton Rapids, a village in the southern central part of Michigan, just north of Jackson. Here was born Melville Madison Bigelow on August 2, 1846. With a keen interest in genealogy and with becoming pride he traced his descent, as vouched for by the College of Heralds, from Edward the First, and showed his pride in his descent by becoming a member of the " Baronial Order of Runnymede." His immigrant ancestor was one John Bageley, said to have settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1640, whence Melville's branch of the Bigelow family went West and early settled in the lower peninsula of Michigan. His mother was said to be of Virginia stock, as evidenced by her maiden name of Madison, and was, like many another circuit rider's wife, a woman of remarkable character, energy and ability. From both his parents Melville inherited an uncommonly vigorous body, and a tough, keen and well balanced brain with unusual ambition and capacity for prolonged literary work.

Like many another Methodist ministers' son, young Melville was every year or two carted with his family from one parsonage to another, varied in his case by absences from home, now at school and now with an aunt, his father's sister, " at the old Bigelow home " near Milford. His uncle, Joseph Enos Bigelow, a graduate of Ann Arbor, who taught school at Milford and became a lawyer, would seem to have influenced his nephew in steering him towards college and in the choice of a profession. At some time during his youth, perhaps to pay his way at school and college, he showed practical sense and sagacity in carrying on with a friend a highly profitable business in the making and sale of hickory bows and arrows. These youthful experiences made for

early development, mental and physical, and at the end of his fifteenth year he was ready to enter Michigan University. A portrait of him at this period discloses a frank and winning personality, about which there was nothing particularly striking, "Except that he seems to have been better looking, more athletic, better behaved and more popular than most of his companions."

He graduated with his Art's degree in 1866, and entering upon his legal studies he received his law degree in 1868, and in due course his Master's degree in 1871, all from that institution. Upon leaving the University he went to Pontiac, Michigan, to continue his law studies for a brief period with a Judge Baldwin. Meanwhile his uncle, Joseph Enos, had gone to Memphis to practise law, and, upon his invitation, Melville joined him there and was admitted to the Tennessee Bar. It was speedily apparent that he was ill fitted for the clashes of active practice, least of all for the rough and tumble life at the bar of a South-Western State. On one occasion his mild and gentle personality only would seem to have saved his life. Another Memphis lawyer had for some reason threatened to shoot him, and, according to a friend would have done so, "if it had not been for Melville's quiet, gentlemanly manner."

Early in his Memphis career young Bigelow was fortunate enough to strike his métier and to begin his real life work in the profession. By a fortuitous chance or fate he was engaged to assist in the making and publishing of H. Clay King's *Tennessee Digest*. To further the presswork he came to Boston, probably in 1869, to read the proofs. Here for the first time in the libraries of Cambridge and Boston, in freest contact with books on every line of legal research, he saw the opportunity and felt the call to a life of legal scholarship. During his stay in Boston he met and married Miss Elizabeth Bragg and with her returned to Memphis. Impatient to continue his studies he came back to Boston in 1870, made his home in Cambridge, and buried himself in an alcove in the Social Law Library, then in its cramped quarters in the Old Court House on Court Street. Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, who was much in the library at the time and through similarity of bent and

studies came to know and appreciate this eager young scholar out of the Middle West, wrote of him at this period that he was much "impressed by the disinterested love of scholarship that led to his counter-emigration Eastward to get access to the materials that he wanted. Without riches he accumulated a part of those materials, and gave to the world his very valuable *Placita Anglo-Normannica*. I saw a good deal of him in those early days but recall no special incidents. I remember mainly his genuine untiring interest in his work for its own sake." Coincidently he took a graduate course in Harvard University which covered a number of years. Dr. Charles W. Eliot said of him: "I have never known any young man who deliberately undertook the pursuit of higher education for so long a period. He must have entered the University of Michigan about 1862, for he obtained the degree of A. B. in 1866. It was not until 1879 that he obtained at Harvard his degree of Ph.D."

When this scholarly young Methodist had settled in Cambridge and Boston, it was natural that he should come into confidential relationship with Boston University, then newly chartered under the auspices of that aggressive denomination. The question of establishing a School of Law in connection with that institution was discussed, and in 1871 the Board of Trustees appointed one of their number together with young Bigelow to investigate and report upon the feasibility of so doing. In January, 1872, he made a favorable report and in the September following the school was started at 36 Bromfield Street, the Methodist headquarters in Boston. The able and learned faculty was made up of former judges, active practitioners, and legal scholars, of which last named he was one. This was fortunate for him, as it assured him a modest livelihood while he pursued his studies and entered upon his career as a legal author; it was fortunate for the University as it resulted in a flourishing and influential Law School, beginning with fifty students in 1872, and reaching seven hundred in 1922, numbering among its graduates many leaders of the bar and judges of courts of last resort.

Professor Bigelow was now twenty-six years of age, but

looked and acted much older. He had matured early in mind and body, and had begun to show in his appearance the effect of his years of toil by night and day. He did not thereafter change essentially in appearance throughout life except that his hair grew gray and the stoop of his shoulders more pronounced. He had become and remained a typical student of the midnight oil and of an elder day. He had the long and roughly kempt hair, the gentle voice, the abstracted air, the inflamed eyelids, the weary eyes, the habitual eye-glasses, the dull complexion, the simple manners of an unworldly scholar of sedentary habit, who took little bodily exercise and spent his days and nights in preparing his lectures and in legal writing. He carried into the lecture hall a placid manner, a self-controlled bearing that characterized him throughout life. It must be confessed that he did not possess personal magnetism, that his delivery was tiresome, and that his prose was heavy and interesting only to the eager student. But his kindliness, his earnestness, and his thoroughness went far to remedy these defects of temperament and literary style. The more earnest the student, the greater was his admiration and respect for the preceptor.

There were no false barriers between him and his pupils; together they formed a band of familiar co-workers in searching and defining the law. One Monday afternoon a class had gathered for a lecture from Professor Bigelow on some phase of the Law of Fire Insurance. The place of meeting was the hall at 36 Bromfield Street where the Methodist clergymen of the city and suburbs were wont to meet on the forenoon of that day for companionship and conference. The Bible used in a brief service had been overlooked and left on the reading-desk. Professor Bigelow came in and, leaning on the Bible, said that he had come without his notes and would be unable to give the lecture. "That needn't trouble you, Professor," flashed up one of the class. "You've got under your arm the best book ever written on insurance against fire!" Needless to say consideration of the Law of Fire Insurance was postponed for that day.

He continued his lectures in the School on various

branches of the Law until 1902, when he also became Dean. He held that office until 1911, in which year he retired at the age of sixty-five from active work in the general school, and devoted himself to his historical studies, and as professor *emeritus,* to the post-graduate training of a few eager and kindred spirits who wished under his wise direction to pursue further the philosophy and history of the Common Law.

The published works of Professor Bigelow may be divided into two groups, one embodying the results of his historical and philosophical studies, and the other treatises for the courts and practising lawyers, subsidiary to which were text-books and case-books for students. These lines of work he carried on coincidently and tirelessly throughout life, and will account for the enormous amount of his legal output.

While still gathering material for his *Placita Anglo-Normannica* he was with amazing industry writing his first great treatise on the *Law of Estoppel or of Incontestable Rights.* This work which became and remains the last word in its peculiar field, was finished by him at the age of twenty-six, and was published in 1872, when beginning his career in the Law School. This book, as revised by him from time to time ran through several editions, the sixth and last issuing from the press in 1913. In 1873 he published a *List of Overruled Cases by Courts of America, England and Ireland,* and in 1875 his *Leading Cases in the Law of Torts.* This was followed in 1878 by a text-book for students on the *Law of Torts* itself, and in 1895 by *Cases on Torts* (Students' Edition). His *Law of Torts* ran through eight editions, the last coming out in 1907, while an English edition of it was published by the University of Cambridge, of which a third edition appeared in 1908. The year 1878 saw the completion of the first volume of his treatise on the *Law of Fraud,* the second volume of which did not appear until 1890. His *Elements of the Law of Equity,* a digression into a new field, appeared in 1879.

In 1879 and 1880, Professor Bigelow's historical studies, continued since 1870, culminated in the year first named in the publication of *Placita Anglo-Normannica,* and in the summer of the second year in that of the *History of Pro-*

cedure in England, works which stamped him as easily the first of legal historians in America. The *Placita* consisted of reports of law cases from the reign of William the Conqueror to that of Richard the First, and the *Procedure* covered the processes of the courts in England during the Norman Period, 1066 to 1204. Mr. Justice Holmes in his address on *The Path of the Law,* delivered at the Law School of Boston University, on January 8, 1897, gave full credit to " the part which the study of history necessarily plays in the intelligent study of the law as it is today," and went on to state that Professor Bigelow with others here and in England had " made important contributions which will not be forgotten."

During 1880, besides completing the historical works above noted, he found time, in spite of sufficiently engrossing duties as a teacher in the Law School, to publish a treatise on the *Law of Bills, Notes and Cheques,* of which a second edition was necessary in 1900, and at the same time he prepared for the press the first American edition of *Odgers on Libel and Slander.* After an interval, he wrote and published in 1885, a book on the *Mistakes of the Law,* followed in 1886 by the making of the thirteenth edition of *Story on Equity Jurisprudence.* In 1891, he offered to the profession the fifth edition of *Story on the United States Constitution,* and in 1893, the sixth American edition of *Jarman on Wills,* to be followed in 1898 by a treatise of his own on the same subject under title of the *Law of Wills.*

The years following, including his deanship, during which he combined the exacting duties of administration with those of instruction, marked a cessation in this enormous and varied amount of legal authorship. The only exception was his collaboration with Brooks Adams, Edward A. Harriman and H. S. Haines in the writing of *Centralization and the Law,* which came out in 1906.

In 1911, upon resigning as Dean, Professor Bigelow completed the long list of his sound and authoritative expositions of the law, with the publication of his *Law of Fraudulent Conveyances.* In the same year appeared *A False Equation: The Problem of the Great Trust,* of which he was joint author. After several years, in 1920, *Papers on*

Legal History of Government, brought to a close his long and useful career as a legal author. He had become the first of law writers in America in the scope, the number, the soundness, and the authority of his legal writings. Dr. Eliot in his address on " Melville M. Bigelow and the Legal Profession " summed up his career as follows: " I suppose his most scholarly work is the *Placita Anglo-Normannica;* it has given him his widest distinction as a Scholar in Europe, as well as in America. His books have a high reputation and a constant sale in more Continents than any American law publication with which I am acquainted. They are used not only in Great Britain and the United States, but in Egypt, South Africa, Australia, China and Japan. His name will live for generations in the history of legal authorship. His books have a solid value, as respects both matter and manner, which is so firmly based that they will go down for generations in frequent use."

Thenceforward to the end of his scholarly career Professor Bigelow divided his thought and interest between the graduate work of the Law School, of the founders and original faculty of which he was the sole survivor, and his historical researches among the traditional and mythical beginnings of the Common Law. Mr. Justice Holmes might well have had Professor Bigelow in mind when he said in his address on " The Path of the Law," already referred to: " In very many cases, if we want to know why a rule of law has taken its particular shape, and more or less if we want to know why it exists at all, we go to tradition. We follow it into the Year Books, and perhaps beyond them to the customs of the Salian Franks, and somewhere in the past, in the German Forests, in the needs of Norman Kings, in the assumptions of a dominant class, in the absence of generalized ideas, we find out the practical motive for what now best is justified by the mere fact of its acceptance and that men are accustomed to it." Professor Bigelow, in the fifty odd years he had been associated with it, had seen the School of Law of Boston Universtity grow from a modest beginning to an influential position among the law schools of the country, he had also seen many of its graduates, all of whom had been grounded and stimulated in their legal studies by his

sympathetic teaching, holding honorable positions as judges of courts and practitioners at the bar.

Professor Bigelow, if not better known in England than in the United States, enjoyed a higher reputation, at least was accorded greater recognition, there than here. During his frequent visits to England he was honored by the foremost lawyers and judges of that country; he was taken into their homes; he was put up at the most exclusive clubs; he was invited to sit upon the bench; and in every way was made to feel the very high esteem in which they held him, great legal luminary that he was. These attentions while gratifying, were embarrassing, for as Dr. Eliot further said of him: "He was one of the most modest and retiring persons I have ever known. It was not plesaant to him to be told how great a legal scholar and author he was. He once went to a dinner in London where all the participants were learned in the law; and they all wanted to shake hands with him, and tell him how much they enjoyed and used his books. This was a positively painful operation for Dr. Bigelow. He shrank from it — so much so that he did not adequately convey his thanks to those who congratulated him."

The Northwestern University, in whose School of Law Professor Bigelow had delivered courses of lectures, conferred upon him in 1896, the degree of LL.D., and in 1912, Michigan University, his Alma Mater, in whose School of Law he had lectured as well as studied, bestowed upon her famous son the same degree. But Harvard University, under whose shadow he lived for fifty years, whose foster son he was, and whose scholars were familiar with the work of this international scholar, and Boston University, to which he gave its most successful graduate school, both passed him by in bestowing their highest degree. Truly a famous lawyer, no less than a prophet, is "not without honor save in his own country!"

With a new found leisure toward the end of a busy life, Professor Bigelow took much satisfaction in writing verse. These verses with his usual modesty he printed for merely private circulation among his friends. He had a more vivid fancy, a greater poetic insight than ability to clothe the creations of his fancy and imagination in limpid and graceful

verse. He worked over his lyrics and sonnets painfully and conscientiously as he had worked over and corrected the prose of his essays, his lectures and his law books. The result was that while often filled with a sprightly fancy and a depth of poetic feeling, his stanzas were rigid in form and at times awkward in expression. His most successful efforts were in translations of Odes of Horace, where faithfulness in conveying the poet's meaning was coupled with poetic form not inappropriate to the Latin verse.

Professor Bigelow was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society on April 12, 1900. He served on the Council from 1907 to 1910, on the Committee to Examine the Library in 1904 and 1905, and on the Committee to Nominate Officers in 1903 and in 1912. From soon after the date of his admission until within a short time before he died, he read a number of learned papers, among them the following:

June, 1902, on "Constitutional Questions, 1761–76, which led to the Declaration of Independence."

November, 1911, on "Payments to Provincial Officials."

April, 1916, on "The Old Jury."

December, 1917, on "Medieval English Sovereignty."

November, 1918, on "Becket and the Law."

November, 1919. Mention of paper on "The Family in English History."

In addition he made remarks at various meetings, among them the following:

June, 1901. Personal Recollections of Bishop Stubbs.

April, 1902, on the death of James B. Thayer.

February, 1903, on his work as Editor of the Province Laws.

December, 1904, on punishment for crime in Massachusetts Colony and Province.

November, 1911, on primogeniture in Massachusetts.

June, 1915, on presenting a piece of wood from the Magna Charta tree, cut down in 1880, given in commemoration of the 700th anniversary of the tree.

He was also a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and an honorary member of the Harvard Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa, and had belonged to the American

Historical Association, the Massachusetts Society of Sons of the American Revolution and was an honorary member of the New York State Bar Association. He was a Fellow of the Society of Science, Letters and Arts, in London, as well as a member of the council, Selden Society, London, and an associate of the Victorian Society in the English metropolis. He was a vice-president of the American Bible Society.

By his first wife he had three children, two girls who died early, and a most promising son, who died while in the Harvard Law School and whose death was a sad blow to his father. His first wife died in 1881. In 1883 he married Miss Cornelia Frothingham Read who died in 1892, and in 1898, he married Miss Alice Bradford Woodman, who survived him. He died in Cambridge, on May 4, 1921.

JUNE MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P.M., the President, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported gifts:

From Mrs. William Robinson Cabot, papers of the late William Howard Gardiner (H. C. 1816), including letters from William H. Prescott, Theophilus Parsons, George Ticknor Curtis, and Charles Sumner, together with a number of maps of Boston.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, additions to the Kingsmill Marrs Collection.

From the American Antiquarian Society, "*The New England Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*," 1758, No. 3; also a map of Shrewsbury, compiled and published by L. M. Parker, 1859.

From Mrs. Isaac Conrad, of Marsillon, Ohio, the Orderly Book of Erastus Harris, of Medway, Mass., March 26, 1759–May 3, 1760, and from April 4, 1778 to June 26.

From Otis and Grenville H. Norcross two record books of the Summer Street Fire Committee, 1872 and 1874.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Warren S. Kilburn, a print of Bowdoin Square, in 1825, by William P. Bodwell.

From Francis Henry Appleton, an example in bronze of the gold "Appleton Medal" donated by him to the First Corps of Cadets, M.V.M., in 1873, with a list of the winners from 1873 to 1921; also, a bronze medal, designed by Bela Pratt, distributed in honor of Prof. Theobald Smith of the Harvard Medical School when he took a position in the Rockefeller Institute.

From Mrs. Edward M. Hartwell, of Jamaica Plain, fourteen lantern-slides of maps and views of Boston and Vicinity, 1614–1850.

From Lawrence Shaw Mayo, a photograph of Charles-Mary Wentworth (1775–1844), a Corresponding Member of this Society, by Partridge from a miniature thought to be painted by

Copley owned by Mr. J. Winslow Peirce of Portsmouth, N. H. Also, a colored print, published by M. Darly, June 20, 1780, with the legend "No Popery or the City Heroes in Council," with Lord Amherst as Commander-in-Chief.

From Miss Mary E. Haven, of Beverly Farms, a Webster medal in bronze by C. C. Wright and a daguerreotype of Benjamin West's unfinished painting representing the American Peace Commission of 1782 — Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, John Jay, Henry Laurens and Temple Franklin. The original painting is owned by Lord Belper of Kingston Hall, Kegworth, Derby, England.

From Miss Edith Andrew and Henry Hersey Andrew, additional relics associated with their father, Gov. John A. Andrew; a large handkerchief showing in colors the standards and ships flags of various nations, also a flag used by Gov. Andrew at his home in Charles Street, Boston, and a Union Shawl given by R. H. Stearns & Co. to Mrs. Andrew.

From Mrs. William R. Cabot, by deposit, a framed lithographic portrait of Daniel Webster.

From Morton Prince, a bronze medal, by Cyrus E. Dallin, struck to commemorate the visit of Marshal Foch to Boston, November 14, 1921.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from James Truslow Adams, of Bridgehampton, N. Y., accepting his election as a Corresponding Member of the Society.

LeBaron Russell Briggs, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

George Mackinnon Wrong, of Toronto, Canada, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. Charles P. Greenough presented the following document connected with the rendition of Thomas Sims, and said:

I wish to present to the Society a relic of the Fugitive Slave Law excitement in Boston, as it seems to me that this is the proper place for its preservation.

It will be remembered that the first negro who was arrested in Boston under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1856 was named Shadrach or Jenkins. Soon after his arrest a meeting of

some of the leading Abolitionists and friends of the negro was held in Boston and the lawyers, including Richard H. Dana, Jr., found great difficulty in discovering any legal process with which to combat the proceedings under the Fugitive Law. Dana, however, drew a writ which he dug up from the common law of England, known as the writ de replegiendo homine — a sort of human replevin. It was presented with a petition for a writ of habeas corpus to Judge Shaw who declined to grant the petition giving various rather unsatisfactory reasons. As it turned out, however, it did not matter, for while the hearing before the United States Commissioner was actually in progress, Jenkins was seized in the Court Room by two stalwart negroes, and carried off. He was not found again, having been transported to Canada.

A few years later, when another negro named Sims was captured in Boston, the same writ de replegiendo homine was revived, the names therein altered and a bond was executed. The writ was given to the Sheriff with orders to serve it upon the United States Marshal. The Sheriff thereupon served the writ and demanded the delivery of Sims, but the Marshal refused and declared that force would be used if any attempt was made to take him from his custody.

This original writ and bond I now offer to the Society. There are some notable names upon the bond.

A petition for a writ of habeas corpus was also brought before Judge Sprague who refused to issue the writ. The petition was then presented to Judge Woodbury by Dana and Sumner and he issued the writ. It was argued that same night, but Judge Woodbury finally remanded the prisoner to the United States Marshal.

When the negro Burns was later on arrested, a new writ de replegiendo homine was prepared and presented to Judge Sprague, who refused to issue the writ on the ground that no such writ was known by the Federal Courts. He might have added that it was also unknown by any other court.

Mr. Adams in his life of Richard H. Dana, Jr., gives an account in some detail of the disagreement of the juries in the Shadrach cases so called. These were prosecutions against those who assisted the negro to escape. Dana states with unction that "one faithful man raised up by Provi-

dence" disagreed and prevented conviction by the juries in these cases. The explanation of the Act of Providence I remember hearing some years after the trials were over. There were five or six different trials and Dana appeared as counsel in all of them, except perhaps in the first trial of Elizur Wright. In all the cases the jury disagreed. The story as I remember it was that some years after the trials were over Dana was driving through the White Mountains and when he mounted upon the top of the stage coach the following conversation ensued. The driver, "How do you do, Mr. Dana?" Mr. Dana, with his usual brusqueness, "I don't know you; how do you happen to know me?" The driver, "I heard you argue for the defendant in the Shadrach cases when I was on the jury." Mr. Dana, "I was very much surprised by the disagreement of the juries, as the cases seemed to me to be entirely made out by the Government and I should like to ask you, if it is proper, what it was caused the juries to disagree." The driver "I was the one who disagreed." Dana's curiosity was still unsatisfied. "Would you mind telling me why you disagreed?" The driver, "I was one of the men who helped him to escape."

Comment on the one faithful man raised up by Providence seems unnecessary.

The story of this conversation as told by Adams in his life of Dana differs in some of the details but the result was the same.

Know all men by these presents that we Thomas Sims of Boston in the County of Suffolk as principal, and Charles G. Davis, Ellis G. Loring, Samuel E. Sewell, Wendall Phillips, Lemuel Gilbert, and Francis Jackson, all of said Boston, as sureties, are holden and firmly bound unto Charles Devens of Boston in said County of Suffolk, Esquire, in the full sum of three thousand dollars to be paid to the said Devens his executors administrators or assigns, to which payment we bind ourselves our executors, administrators and assigns firmly by these presents. Witness our hands and seals this fourth day of April A.D. 1851.

The condition of this obligation is such that whereas the said Sims has this day sued out from the court of Common Pleas for the County of Suffolk a writ of personal replevin against Charles

Devens Esquire of said Boston, returnable to the Court of Common Pleas next to be holden in Boston on the first Tuesday of July next within and for the County of Suffolk, if the said Sims shall appear at said court to prosecute said writ of replevin against the said Charles Devens, and shall have his body there ready to be re-delivered, if thereto ordered by the court, and shall pay all such damages and costs as shall be then and there awarded against him, then this obligation is to be void, otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

Signed Sealed and delivered in presence of, the word Devens over over the twelfth line being first inserted.	his THOMAS × SIMS mark	[Seal.]
	CHARLES G. DAVIS.	[Seal.]
RICHARD HILDRETH.	TIMOTHY GILBERT.	[Seal.]
JOHN MERRILL to sig C. G. DAVIS.	S. E. SEWALL.	[Seal.]
LUTHER A. HAM.	WENDELL PHILLIPS.	[Seal.]
JOSEPH D. COBURN.	ELLIS GRAY LORING.	[Seal.]
Witness to signatures two last.	FRANCIS JACKSON.	[Seal.]

Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Suffolk ss.

To the Sheriff of our County of Suffolk or his deputy or either of the Coroners thereof, Greeting:

We command you that justly and without delay, you cause to be replevied Thomas Sims of Boston, colored who, (as it is said) is taken and detained at the Court House in Court Street within our said County, by the duress of Charles Devens of Boston, Esq. that the said Sims may appear at our Court of Common Pleas next to be holden at Boston, within our county aforesaid, then and there in our said Court to demand right and justice against the said Charles Devens for the duress and imprisonment aforesaid, and to prosecute his replevin as the law directs:

Provided, the said Thomas Sims shall, before his deliverance, give bond to the said Devens in such sum as you shall judge reasonable, and with two sureties at the least, having sufficient within your county, with condition to appear at our said Court to prosecute his replevin against the said Devens and to have his body there ready to be redelivered if thereto ordered by the Court; and to pay all such damages and costs as shall be then and there awarded against him. Then and not otherwise are you

to deliver him. And if the said Sims be by you delivered at any day before the sitting of our said Court, you are to summon the said Devens by serving him with an attested copy of this writ, that he may appear at our said Court to answer to the said Sims.

Witness Daniel Willis Esquire at Boston the fourth day of April in the year eighteen hundred fifty one.

JOSEPH WILLARD, *Clerk*

Suffolk ss. April 5th 1851.

By virtue of the within writ I have at two different times on this-day, demanded of the within named Charles Devans Esquire United States Marshall, the surrender to me and the delivery of the within named Thomas from duress and imprisonment; at the same times presenting to the said Devans this writ with the annexed bond of the said Sims with sureties in the sum of three thousand dollars, but the said Devans refused to deliver the said Sims from duress and imprisonment claiming to hold him the said Sims by virtue of legal process, to him directed as the United States Marshall for the district of Massachusetts; and the said Devans at the time of the last above mentioned demand, by me made upon him for the delivery of the said Sims from duress, said that he had him the said Sims in his Custody, and if I in the service of this writ should attempt to take the said Sims from [hi]m the said Devans, he [the] said Devans should interpose such and so much forceable resistance as would enable him to retain the said Sims in his custody; and I further return that at the time of said demands the said Devans had as he informed me, under his control a large number of men placed in and about the Court house in Boston where I understood the said Sims to be confined, as his assistants and I wa[s] informed, to prevent the said Sims from being taken from his custody. I therefore for the reasons herein before stated r[eturn] this writ without delivering the said Sims from d[uress and] imprisonment and without service.

DANIEL J. COBURN, *D. Sheriff*

Some time during the month of May A.D. 1851, after these proceedings had been quieted this was given to me by Chas. G. Davis Esq. as being of no further use, it never being entered or becoming a part of the records of the Court, and at 5 Nov. A.D. 1881 I present it to Chas. P. Greenough, Esq.

JOS. A. WILLARD, *Clerk of Superior Court*

[Endorsed] Writ de Homine Replegiando. Thos. Sims.

Mr. WOLKINS read, in behalf of Mr. Howe, an account of a visit by Miss Quincy and her sister, Mrs. Greene, to Mrs. Harrison Gray Otis, who had just published her novel *The Barclays of Boston,* in which the author's own opinion of the work was contrasted with that of a contemporary critic.

Mr. CHARLES G. WASHBURN read a paper on Rev. George Whitefield in New England, and Dr. J. C. WARREN called attention to a death-mask and rib of Whitefield, in the Anatomical Museum of the Harvard Medical School.

On mentioning the gift by Mrs. Woodhull Martin of her fine estate in Bredon, Worcester, to Sulgrave Institute, Mr. FORD gave an account of her connection with the United States, her liberal hospitality to Americans in England, and her interest in closer relations between the two peoples.

Mr. JONATHAN SMITH presented a paper on

HOW MASSACHUSETTS RAISED HER TROOPS IN THE REVOLUTION

In the three great wars which this country has waged, namely the Revolution, the Civil and the World War, the nation has raised its armies in three different ways; by the militia system, the volunteer method and by conscription. In the Revolutionary struggle, under the so-called militia system, the men were drawn from the State militia regiments already organized, through voluntary enlistment or by draft. Its distinguishing feature was a short term of service, and was the sole method of raising the armies in the War for Independence. Under the volunteer plan the men are recruited from civil life, and are usually enlisted for one, two or three years, as may be named in the call for men. This was the leading method for raising the armies during the rebellion, although during the last three years a conscription law was in force. In the World War the main reliance was on the draft, though a large number also volunteered for service. Each plan has its advantages and its disadvantages.

There was no standing army when the Revolution opened, but all able bodied men were already enrolled in companies and regiments. Massachusetts had about thirty of these regiments. The size of the regiments varied from two or three hundred to seven hundred and fifty men each. The male inhabitants were divided into two classes, one called the active list, which included those between the ages of sixteen and fifty, and the alarm list, embracing all between sixteen and sixty-five, not enrolled in the active list. Many of the official classes were exempted from both groups. The State appointed the general officers of Divisions and Brigades, and also the Colonels and Field Officers of the several regiments. Each Company elected its own officers. The men on the active list were required to meet for drill and instruction eight times a year, and those on the alarm list, twice a year. These encampments lasted from three days to a week each, and were scenes of hilarity and dissipation, little but picnics on a large scale. As schools for instruction in the serious duties of a soldier, they were of no account. Each man had to furnish his own gun, accoutrements, and ammunition while serving in the militia. There was no prescribed uniform. If the man was unable to provide himself with his arms and other military implements, the Selectmen or the State furnished them for him. In the first years of the war the calls were from the active list, but later the alarm list was also included and no distinction was made between the two. It was from this force, so organized, that the armies of the Revolution were drawn.

The men were called into service in this way. If they were wanted to protect the sea coast or critical points within the State, the demand originated in the Legislature, Council or Committee of Safety, which passed the acts or issued orders to raise so many men to guard certain points named in the law, and the Colonels of the militia regiments were ordered to recruit them out of their commands. The men called for State service were enlisted generally for longer terms, varying from three months to a year; while if they were to serve without the State the Governors of neighboring commonwealths, General Washington or the Continental Congress, would call upon the Governor or Legislature to

furnish so many men for such and such a duty. The Legislature would forthwith enact a law, or the Council or Committee of Safety issue orders addressed to the General commanding the militia, or to the regimental Colonels to recruit the number of men required. The General would divide the quota among the State regiments, and direct the Colonels commanding to enlist or draft the men called for. The Colonels would apportion the men among the towns represented in his command, and order his Captains to execute the law. No town was required to furnish more than its proportionate share under a call. The law enforcing the call frequently stated the number of men each town was to furnish as its quota. The officers to command the men thus called out were not the same as those of the original militia regiments, but were specially appointed by the State for each battalion, and company officers were elected by the companies. The Field Officers were often drawn from the primitive organizations, but not always, while the companies elected entirely new officers. They were original organizations, except that the men were taken out of the old order.

An enumeration of the laws passed for filling the armies, and a brief outline in some detail of the terms and conditions under which the men served, are necessary to appreciate fully how the system worked as a means of getting soldiers for the army. It is briefly sketched in the following pages and explains in part, why the struggle was so long, and makes plain in its results some of the reasons why the people suffered so intensely during the struggle. It will be appreciated by those who are familiar with the methods of raising armies.

The armies of 1775 were entirely volunteers, and were recruited in part out of the men who went to Cambridge after the Lexington alarm. They came from all sections of Massachusetts and central and southern New Hampshire. At Cambridge all was confusion and chaos: some of the men were there under their regular officers; many of them were mere detachments of their companies, while a large portion were without any officers or semblance of a Commander or organization.

Those in control immediately set themselves to work to bring order out of this confusion. On the 21st of April the

Committee of Safety voted to raise eight thousand men for a term of seven months. This order was superseded two days later when the Provincial Congress voted to recruit thirteen thousand six hundred men for military purposes, and further resolved that an army of thirty thousand men be immediately raised for defense of the Colony.[1] Massachusetts raised about seventeen thousand men in that year. Officers were appointed for the necessary number of regiments, who promptly set about enlisting their men. In the following month, May, two thousand men were ordered to report to Boston, and the authorities of the towns were to muster one-half of their militia.[2] It was a portion of the troops thus raised together with men from Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, that fought the battle of Bunker Hill. In the previous February, 1775, the Committee of Safety had ordered the Colonels of the militia to assemble one-fourth of their men to hold or seize places along the sea-coast of the State; and on June 28, they voted to raise twenty-three companies of fifty men each, to guard the coast. The men were to be paid twenty-six shillings a month. The time these guards were to serve was not stated, but as a matter of fact they did serve until the first of the following January. Aside from these forces the colony raised some seven or eight companies of fifty men each, to guard different points along the coast not protected by the other men.

Boston, of course, was the center of military operations, and its people felt the crisis more keenly than those of any other colony.

The army was made up entirely of volunteers and there was no suggestion of a draft. The men were to furnish their arms and equipment, the same as in the original militia. An allowance of a penny a mile was made for travel and four dollars was allowed for an over-coat. Aside from these men there came a call December 1 from Generals Washington and Sullivan upon the two colonies for five thousand men to take the place of the Connecticut militia, which had taken a miff at some fancied grievance, and refusing to serve longer,

[1] *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in Revolutionary War*, I. xii.
[2] *Ib.*, xiv.

had marched off home. New Hampshire recruited thirty-one companies, eighteen hundred men, and Massachusetts contributed the balance. These men were to serve six weeks, and at the end of that time were discharged.

The year 1776, was a busy one in raising men for the army. The colonies had come to realize the character of the struggle before them. The Declaration of Independence gave them a new incentive and had also emphasized the intensity of the war on the part of Great Britain.

Early in the year the State repealed all its militia laws and enacted a new statute.[1] Under it, the State appointed the generals and field officers. All the male citizens were divided into two lists, namely the active and the alarm list. Each man was to provide himself with a gun, priming wire, brush, bayonet, a cutting sword, or a tomahawk, or hatchet, a jack knife, tow for wadding, a blanket and knapsack and a canteen or bottle holding one quart, and also with ammunition. In all subsequent calls for men throughout the war, recruits were required to furnish themselves with these equipments, and where the soldier was unable to furnish these, the Selectmen were to do so. Later, in November,[2] it was further provided that one-fourth of all the militia were to be selected by enlistment, lot or draft, to be held ready for three months to march at a moment's notice to join the Continental army whenever called upon. Heavy fines were imposed under both Statutes upon Selectmen and officers of the militia for disobedience, neglect or failure to obey promptly these orders of the Legislature. The wages were three pounds monthly. If the conscript did not within twenty-four hours present himself or furnish a reasonable excuse he was to be fined ten pounds; and if he did not march when ordered he was fined twelve pounds, and in default of payment he was to be committed to jail until it was paid.

On January 21, 1776,[3] the State ordered the raising of a regiment of seven hundred and twenty-eight men in Hampshire and Berkshire counties for duty in Canada, with a term of service until January 1, 1777. A bounty of forty shillings and one month's pay in advance was offered. On

[1] *Acts and Resolves*, v. 445. [2] *Ib.*, 595. [3] *Ib.*, XIX. 221.

the 20th of the same month [1] it was voted to raise four thousand three hundred and sixty-eight men to serve until April 1. The pay of these men was the same as on the Continental establishment, namely, three pounds a month. The number of men each town was to furnish was named in the Act. In June a law was passed to recruit five thousand men from both the active and alarm lists to serve until the first of the following December.[2] Three thousand of these were for duty in Canada and the bounty offered them was seven pounds a man. The other two thousand were to serve in New York and to these a bounty of three pounds was offered. Under this enlistment six shillings were allowed each soldier for the use of his arms and twelve shillings for a blanket. One month's pay was to be made in advance. The recruits not readily responding to this call, on the twelfth of the following July, the Colonels were ordered to draft the deficiency of the delinquent towns out of the militia.[3] If a drafted man refused to march or furnish a substitute within twenty-four hours, he was to be fined ten pounds, and on failure then to go or pay, a further fine of three pounds was imposed. On July 9 it was decided to raise two more regiments for service in Canada,[4] the men to be drawn from both active and alarm lists. Every twenty-fifth man was to be drafted and the soldiers were to serve until December 1. Two months later [5] it was voted that one-fifth of the militia be drafted from both lists for duty in New York and in New Jersey to continue in service until recalled. Delinquents, if they concealed themselves or absconded so that the officers could not find them, were to be fined ten pounds; and if they refused to march or furnish a substitute, were also fined ten pounds more or be committed to jail for two months. Later it was decided to recall these men after two months' service. On November 30 one-fourth of the militia was called into active service by enlistment or draft to reinforce the army in New York.[6] This call included the alarm list and was limited in its effect to certain counties named in the statute. The men were to serve a

[1] *Ib.*, XIX. 217.
[2] *Acts and Resolves*, XIX. 462, 517.
[3] *Ib.* 519.
[4] *Ib.* 517.
[5] *Ib.*, 558.
[6] *Acts and Resolves*, XIX. 690.

term of three months. By the same Act one-fifth of the militia in delinquent towns was ordered to be drafted to complete their quotas.[1] On the third of the following month,[2] one-fourth of the militia in the counties of Plymouth, Bristol and Barnstable, was ordered enlisted or drafted to march at once for service in Rhode Island.

This year Massachusetts raised for local defence to guard its long line of sea coast, garrison its forts, and protect military stores and internal points of danger, from thirty-five hundred to four thousand men. Most of these men enlisted for a year — there was one regiment recruited for three years — but some regiments and companies were enlisted for three, six or nine months. As fast as their terms expired the State would re-enlist as many as it could, and draft enough to fill the vacancies of those whose terms were expiring. The State so continued through the war each year, raising and always having between three or four thousand soldiers on local duty.

By the middle of the year the colonial leaders had seen the folly of trying to carry on the war under the methods hitherto employed. Washington had denounced the militia as unreliable, the short terms of its enlistment making it a worthless force to oppose to trained veterans of England. In September, 1776, Congress voted to raise eighty-eight battalions of seven hundred and twenty-six men per regiment, making about sixty-three thousand men — the men to be enlisted for the war.[3] This was modified to make the term three years or during the war.[3] These battalions were apportioned to the several States, three being assigned to New Hampshire and to Massachusetts, fifteen, afterwards increased to eighteen, but the extra battalions were never filled and the men enlisting in them were merged into other regiments. Congress offered a bounty of twenty pounds and one hundred acres of land. But the States were to equip and clothe the men which Massachusetts did by clothing them with two linen hunting shirts, two pairs of overalls, a

[1] *Ib.*, 691.
[2] *Ib.* 698.
[3] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, II. 336.

leathern or woolen waistcoat with sleeves, a pair of breeches, a hat or leathern cap, two shirts, two pairs of hose, and two pairs of shoes,[1] all of the value of twenty dollars. The arms included a musket with one ramrod, worm, priming wire and brush, a bayonet, scabbard and belt, a cutting sword or tomahawk or hatchet, a cartridge bag holding fifteen cartridges, one hundred buck shot, jack-knife, tow for wadding, six flints, one pound powder, forty leaden balls, knapsack, blanket and canteen.[2] These were substantially what the men or the towns or the States were to furnish soldiers serving out of the State. The pay was to be twenty shillings a month. The soldier was to furnish his own arms and equipment as in former cases, and was to be allowed a blanket and one penny per mile for travel.

When the request for the battalions came, Commissioners were appointed to go to the armies and procure the enlistment out of the militia of their own State there serving, as many men as possible into the regiments, and to offer Captains and subalterns six shillings for every man they secured.[3]

Massachusetts had a strenuous experience in completing these battalions. In January, 1777, the Colonel of every regiment was ordered to muster his men and to keep mustering them until every seventh man in the militia was enrolled.[4] A bounty of twenty pounds was offered.[5] At the earnest request of General Washington the State, in March, voted to raise a regiment of artillery for three years. It was to be one of the fifteen battalions. A bounty of twenty pounds was offered if the man furnished his own arms and accoutrements; if not, he was to have fifteen pounds and ten shillings.[6] In April it was enacted that if the battalions were not full by the 15th of the next May the officers were to draft enough to fill the deficiency to serve until January 10 next.[7] The conscript neglecting to appear or refusing to go or furnish a substitute within forty-eight hours, was fined ten pounds; and officers, Selectmen and Committees were to

[1] *Acts and Resolves*, v. 680, 681.
[2] *Ib.*, 448.
[3] *Ib.*, XIX. 605.
[4] *Acts and Resolves*, XIX. 781.
[5] *Ib.*, 741.
[6] *Ib.*, 821.
[7] *Ib.*, 921.

be fined the same sum if they failed to execute the Statute. If the drafted man was unfit for service, he was to furnish a substitute or be liable to the same penalty; and if unable to hire a substitute, was to be committed to jail. In August the Commanders were ordered to muster their men, enlist enough to fill the quota or draft for eight months,[1] and keep drafting until the battalions were complete. Penalties were increased from ten pounds to fifteen pounds on able-bodied men refusing to march. If the recruit was unfit for service and did not furnish a substitute within twenty-four hours, a warrant of distress was issued against his estate. Generals neglecting or refusing to obey the Statute were to be dismissed from the service. If the quota was not filled by September 10, subordinate officers, Selectmen and Committees were individually assessed a fine of six pounds and four pounds monthly for each man short so long as the deficiency continued. But even these drastic measures did not fill the regiments. On April 17, 1778, the Legislature ordered the delinquent towns to fill their quotas by May 20, or be subject to a fine of one hundred and fifty pounds for every man short on that day.[2] Three days later fines for failure to conscript were increased to twenty pounds. Brigadier Generals were to be dismissed and fines on officers and town authorities for neglect were raised to ten pounds, and ten pounds monthly so long as the deficiency continued. The fine on the towns was made one hundred pounds instead of one hundred and fifty pounds,[3] but towns were allowed thirty pounds for every man recruited before May 20,[4] and this sum was to be reimbursed by the State. Under this Act two thousand men were called, it having been found that one-seventh of the militia would not furnish the whole of the fifteen battalions. By the Act of May 1 a gratuity of one hundred dollars was given to each enlisted man.[5] On May 1, 1779,[6] it was voted to raise by enlistment fifteen hundred men for three years to complete the fifteen battalions. The bounty was to be three hundred dollars. Congress had already raised its bounty from twenty pounds to two hundred dollars. Re-

[1] *Ib.*, xx. 102, 336.
[2] *Ib.*, 364.
[3] *Acts and Resolves*, xx. 367.
[4] *Ib.*, 386.
[5] *Ib.*, 415.
[6] *Ib.*, 702.

cruiting officers were allowed ten dollars for every recruit. On June 9 of the same year [1] it was decided to raise two thousand men by enlistment, lot or draft to fill the fifteen battalions, to serve nine months. Men unfit for service were to furnish a substitute in twenty-four hours, or be assessed a penalty of forty-five pounds. If unable to pay a warrant of distress was to issue against his goods or estate. Able-bodied men not marching were liable to the same fine. The State also offered one hundred acres of land. For neglect of duty Generals were to be dismissed from service and commissioned officers and civil authorities were to be fined twenty pounds and fifteen pounds monthly for every man short on the 30th of that month. Towns were allowed one hundred and twenty pounds for each man secured. If the quota was not filled by August 1, they were to be assessed three hundred and fifty pounds for each man short. On June 23, 1780,[2] it was resolved to recruit nine hundred and eighty-three men for six months to fill up the fifteen battalions, and this order was amended later by a further enactment [3] that if the quota was not full by the 20th of the next October the towns were to be fined the average cost of every man deficient.

In December, 1780, it was decided to raise four thousand two hundred and forty men to serve three years.[4] The terms of the men enlisting in 1776 and 1777 were expiring, and these men were needed to fill the vacancies. If the number was not filled by the 31st of the following January the authorities were to be individually fined in a sum equal to the average bounty paid the recruit and twenty-five per cent additional. Later, in the following June, a draft was ordered in all towns that were short on their quotas,[5] on the 30th of that month, and the fine was increased to fifty per cent. For neglect the Generals were to be cashiered, and subordinate officers were to be fined thirty pounds. Towns were allowed fifty dollars for each recruit. Under the Act of December 2, 1780,[6] towns were authorized to divide their inhabitants into groups — as many groups as they were short

[1] *Ib.*, v. 1297, 1298.
[2] *Ib.*, XXI. 575.
[3] *Ib.*, 601.
[4] *Ib.*, 38.
[5] *Acts and Resolves*, XXI. 621.
[6] *Ib.*, 190.

in their quotas, each group to furnish or be responsible for one man. If the class failed to produce its man by the 20th of the next January the town was to hire him, and the sum paid for the recruit, not exceeding double the amount thereof, was to be assessed to that class. In the same month it was enacted that every individual of every class deficient still, should each be assessed twenty pounds. In October, 1881, the deficiency still existing, delinquent towns were assessed one hundred[1] and twenty-eight pounds, nine shillings and six pence for every man lacking the first of the next January. Assessors or Committees failing to make the assessment were themselves obliged to pay it. At the beginning of the year (1782) the Assessors were ordered to assess upon the classes delinquent in furnishing their recruits the cost to the town for hiring one.[2] In the following March the State was short fifteen hundred men and ordered that number recruited by a Statute passed the same month.[3] The number each town was to raise was stated in the Law. The classes were to be assessed the average cost of a recruit and twenty per cent additional. Assessors and Committees failing to enforce the law were made individually liable to a fine of fifty pounds.

But even these enactments did not fill the regiments for when the war closed the State had only 4370 men in the Continental line when its full complement would have been 8350 men.

This recital is suggestive of the difficulties of the colonies in getting soldiers particularly for the eighty-eight battalions. The men were loth to enlist for anything but short terms. As the war went on their ardor and patriotism, so manifest in 1775 and 1776, abated, and only by large bounties, increased pay and by threats of conscription, could they be induced to enter the service at all, and even by draft with heavy penalties upon both men and civil and military authorities for negligence or disobedience, could soldiers be obtained, and then in insufficient numbers.

The battalions suffered severely from sickness, deaths and desertion. During the last years of the struggle, as in the case of the Civil War, towns fell into the habit of hiring

[1] *Ib.*, 756. [2] *Ib.*, 825. [3] *Ib.*, 910.

men to fill their quotas, paying what was necessary for the purpose. These hired recruits were younger in years than many of those serving in the earlier part of the struggle.

General Knox reported to the first Congress in 1790,[1] all available data of the men furnished by two States for the eighty-eight battalions. According to this report New Hampshire never had more than twelve hundred and eighty-two men in the Continental line, and in 1781, had only seven hundred. Massachusetts' highest number was seven thousand eight hundred and sixteen in 1777, and in 1781, had only three thousand seven hundred and thirty. The total number of the Continental line in Washington's army was at its highest in 1777, when, according to General Knox, it numbered thirty-four thousand eight hundred and twenty men, which in 1781 had shrunken to thirteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-two.

The year 1777, was one of great anxiety to the New England States. The British plan was for General Burgoyne to invade northern New York with an army of ten thousand men; General Howe to march up the Hudson River with his army from New York city and St. Leger to advance down to the Mohawk valley from Fort Niagara. These forces were to unite at Albany, crush General Schuyler's troops, and then to invade, over-run and subdue the eastern States. St. Leger's army was beaten and dispersed at Oriskany; General Howe went on a campaign into Pennsylvania, but Burgoyne faithfully tried to carry out his part of the plan with an army of seven thousand regulars and a large force of Indians and Tories. Calls upon the militia of the two States were many and came often to resist the invasion. Burgoyne reached northern New York early in the season to execute his plans.

The year was a busy one. In January, 1777, the Legislature ordered the enlistment of four companies out of the militia to serve until the 21st of April in any of the New England States.[2] In April it directed the detachment of two thousand men to serve in Rhode Island [3] for a term of two

[1] General Knox's Report; Hanna, *Scotch Irish*, I. 5; Upton, *Military Policy*, 34, 40, 47, 57 and 58.

[2] *Acts and Resolves*, XIX. 765. [3] *Ib.*, 877.

months. A bounty of twenty shillings a month above Continental pay was offered. Severe penalties were attached to all drafted men who failed to march when ordered.[1] On April 12 the Colonels of the Bristol County regiments were ordered to march as many men as possible to Rhode Island to serve until the two thousand men previously ordered should arrive there.[2] On the last day of the same month fifteen hundred men were detached from the militia of Hampshire County to march forthwith to Ticonderoga to serve two months.[3] In May it was voted to raise two regiments for service at Boston and elsewhere in New England for a term of one year.[4] A bounty of ten dollars was offered to each enlisted man who entered service before June 10th. In June two regiments, fifteen hundred men, were detached for service in Rhode Island or elsewhere in New England.[5] The men were ordered immediately to Rhode Island. Later this Act was repealed and the officers of regiments serving there were asked to enlist the men out of the companies there on duty for a term of two months.[6] On the 27th of the same month two regiments were ordered raised out of the militia to serve in New England for a term of six months.[7] A bounty of twenty shillings a month above Continental pay was offered. The men were ordered to Rhode Island. In July the Brigadier Generals of Hampshire and Berkshire Counties were directed to muster and march as many men out of their regiments as they could obtain,[8] to reinforce the northern army at Fort Edward. The term of service was not stated in the Law. Later, on August 6, two thousand militia was ordered to be levied for reinforcing the northern army,[9] but the Act was suspended by the law of August 9, by which one-sixth of the militia from seven counties was ordered to be drafted to serve until December 1.[10] The penalties named in former statutes were attached to the law. They were to have two pounds and ten shillings for each month of service.

[1] *Ib.*, 559, 576, 690.
[2] *Ib.*, 880.
[3] *Acts and Resolves*, XIX. 925.
[4] *Ib.*, 931.
[5] *Ib.*, XX, 42.
[6] *Ib.*, 50.
[7] *Ib.*, 52.
[8] *Ib.*, 61.
[9] *Ib.*, 87.
[10] *Ib.*, 88.

In September the Brigadier Generals of the several counties were ordered to detach three thousand men to serve on a secret expedition for one month;[1] the place of duty was not mentioned in the Act, but it was probably in Rhode Island. In the same month one-half of the militia of Middlesex, Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire Counties and the 3rd and 4th regiments of Essex County[2] were ordered for duty under General Gates till the next December for a term of one month's service. Two regiments were ordered to march forthwith and join the army. Soldiers re-enlisting were offered a bounty of twelve pounds and twenty shillings a month above Continental pay.

In 1778 the attention of the State was largely directed to Rhode Island, and most of the men recruited except for local service, were sent there.

Prisoners taken at Saratoga in 1777, were marched to Massachusetts and portions of them were quartered in or near Boston. The people evidently were fearful of the presence of Burgoyne's men, and in October, 1777,[3] one thousand men were ordered recruited to guard them. In January, 1778, evidently the men were not forthcoming, and the State drafted a regiment of eight hundred to guard the harbors of Boston on the arrival of the Saratoga prisoners.[4] If any drafted man neglected or refused to go, or did not procure a substitute within twenty-four hours, he was to pay a fine of ten pounds and still be considered a soldier in the army, and to be treated as such. In March there was a draft of five hundred more men for the same purpose,[5] and the men were made subject to the same penalties, as in the former case. When the time of these men expired in July, one thousand men[6] were ordered to be raised as guards for the Burgoyne prisoners to take the place of those whose terms were about expiring. The same penalties were affixed by the Statute. The next April thirteen hundred men were detached for the defense of the Hudson River,[7] and two hundred additional for Rhode Island. The same penalties as

[1] *Acts and Resolves*, XX. 114.
[2] *Ib.*, 125.
[3] *Ib.*, 191.
[4] *Ib.*, 255.
[5] *Ib.*, 333.
[6] *Ib.*, 470.
[7] *Acts and Resolves*, XX. 373, 386.

above were attached to the drafted men, who failed to go or find a substitute. If the man was physically unfit for a soldier, and did not find a substitute, he was to be committed to prison for eight months. If the officer failed to commit the delinquent for ten days he was liable to a fine of thirty pounds. Their pay was forty shillings a month in addition to Continental wages, and they were to serve for eight months. Towns were allowed thirty pounds for each man enlisted or accepted before the twentieth of the following month. In June, eighteen hundred men were voted for Rhode Island[1] for a term of six months, to be enlisted or detached. They were offered the pay of four pounds, thirteen shillings a month in addition to wages on the Continental establishment. Towns and Selectmen were authorized to offer a bounty of fourteen pounds to each recruit. The same penalties were attached also to this law as named in the last Statute.

On June 16, five hundred and fifty men more were ordered detached[2] to march at once for Rhode Island to serve a term of twenty-one days until the eighteen hundred men, previously ordered, would arrive there. In April, 1779, a regiment was raised for a term of eleven months for service in Rhode Island.[3] The pay was ten pounds a month subsequently increased to sixteen pounds, in addition to Continental wages. Officers recruiting the same, were to receive thirty shillings for each man they procured. A bounty of thirty pounds and one suit of clothes was offered.

Three days later five hundred more men were ordered detached to serve two months at the same place.[4] They were to march immediately. Their pay was to be twelve pounds a month.[5] On June 8, 1779, the order was given to enlist or detach eight hundred men for service in Rhode Island for six months' duty. A bounty of thirty pounds was offered. The men were to march at once and were to be paid sixteen pounds a month. Penalties for neglect were thirty pounds.[6] The following October two thousand men were ordered raised for three months, by enlistment, lot or draft, to serve on the

[1] *Ib.*, 441.
[2] *Ib.*, 450.
[3] *Ib.*, 687.
[4] *Acts and Resolves*, XX. 694.
[5] *Ib.*, 700.
[6] *Ib.*, XXI. 33.

Hudson River.[1] The same bounty of thirty pounds was held out as an inducement to enlist, and the pay was fixed at sixteen pounds monthly. The penalties upon delinquent military and civil authorities was one hundred pounds. The men, whether able-bodied or not who failed to go or furnish a substitute, were to pay a fine of fifty pounds, which was attached to the law. The towns short on their quota by a certain day were penalized by a fine of one hundred and fifty pounds. For every deserter from this or any other detachment the towns to which they belonged were assessed five hundred dollars for every one deserting.

In the following year, 1780, on June 5, a call was made for thirty-nine hundred and thirty-four men for the Continental army for the term of six months.[2] Every drafted man was subject to a penalty of one hundred and fifty pounds for refusing to go or furnish a substitute, whether fit or unfit for service. The pay was forty shillings a month in gold or silver. Generals were to be dismissed from the service for neglect to carry out orders and subordinate officers were to be fined three hundred pounds. Three weeks later there was another call for forty-seven hundred and twenty-six men for three months' service on the Hudson. For neglect to enforce the law the Generals were to be dismissed from service, and subordinate officers fined three hundred pounds for each man deficient in the quota on June 30 and civil officers the same.[3]

By a law enacted February 26, 1781,[4] towns were allowed to form their people into as many groups as they were deficient on their quotas, each group to be responsible for one recruit. Every group was to pay the bounty and wages due its soldier. In cases of failure or neglect to furnish the man or pay him the group was to be assessed the bounty due and twenty-five per cent additional. Later in the same year, twelve hundred of the militia were detached and sent to Rhode Island[5] for a service of forty days, and in June five hundred more were raised and sent to the same State for a term of five months.[6]

[1] *Ib.*, 225.
[2] *Ib.*, 519.
[3] *Ib.*, 568.
[4] *Acts and Resolves*, XXI. 307.
[5] *Ib.*, 324.
[6] *Ib.*, 625.

On June 30, 1781, twenty-seven hundred men were ordered detached from the militia for service at West Point for three months.[1] This call was at the request of General Washington. The men were probably wanted at West Point to take the place of the garrison already there, for service against Cornwallis at Yorktown.

The number of militia furnished by the two States cannot be accurately stated, owing to the loss of many of the military rolls. During the first two years, up to 1777, the quotas called for were in all probability, substantially filled, but after January of that year, many were never fully answered. With one or two exceptions and excluding men for the Continental line, the militia officers were, up to that date, directed to enlist the men; later they were directed to enlist or draft; and in the last years of the struggle were ordered peremptorily to draft or detach, which is the same thing. In truth, the men were beginning to weary of the war. The calls for soldiers came every month, sometimes three or four in a month. Usually the demand was for voluntary enlistment but after the beginning of 1777 threats of conscription were attached to the calls, accompanied by heavy penalties.

The responsibility for filling the quotas under the different calls was placed by the Statute primarily upon the officers of the militia, and where the call itself did not name the number each town was to furnish, the officers assigned it. When received they immediately notified the civic authorities, who at once called town meetings to act on it. There was nothing for the municipalities to do but to get the men. The towns appointed committees to secure them. The local militia officers were often made a part of these committees to act with the citizens. The towns then offered bounties, the amounts of which varied widely among the different towns, and at different periods of the war. For several reasons they were heavily increased in the last years of the struggle. A statement in some detail of the action of a number of the towns will show the method resorted to.

On July 8, 1776, the town of Worcester voted a bounty of nine pounds under a call of the State a few days previous.[2]

[1] *Ib.*, 674.
[2] *Collections of Worcester Society of Antiquity*, IV. 218.

March 18, 1777, the town voted a bounty of twenty pounds to each soldier enlisted.[1] November 1, 1779, the town offered one hundred and fifty pounds to each man entering the service besides the thirty pounds authorized by the statutes.[2] June 23, 1780, Worcester voted to allow soldiers twenty-seven pounds each to be paid in produce at the price of same in 1774, provided the men would relinquish all claim to wages and mileage,[3] and in 1780 it voted to raise three thousand pounds to pay the three and six months' men called for.[4]

The town of Harvard on April 19, 1777, voted a bounty of thirty pounds to every man enlisting in the fifteen battalions.[5] On March 22, 1780, it voted to make the pay of the men already called for to six pounds per month,[6] and on April 10, 1781, Harvard voted to a man enlisting for three years eighteen calves, ten to be heifers and eight steers, to be delivered to him within six weeks after his discharge.[7] Under the call of December 2, 1780, Harvard voted to every man enlisting for three years,[8] nine hard dollars, and half a dollar, twenty-five hundred paper dollars and eighteen head of cattle, the same to be three years old. Sixteen men were the town's quota, and the whole bill to the town was three hundred and twenty-eight silver dollars, forty-one thousand and fifty dollars in old paper currency, and two hundred and sixty-seven horned cattle. In 1782 the town paid as bounty sixty pounds to each of three men entering the service.[9]

The town of Lexington in May, 1778,[10] voted to each man enlisted fifteen pounds per month, and under a subsequent call the town voted that each man enlisting should receive fifteen head of cattle; if he served one year they should be yearling; if he served two years, the cattle should be two

[1] *Ib.*, 294.
[2] *Ib.*, 345.
[3] *Ib.*, 360.
[4] *Ib.*, 363.
[5] Nourse, *History of Harvard*, 327.
[6] *Ib.*, 329.
[7] *Ib.*, 340.
[8] *Ib.*, 344.
[9] Nourse, *History of Harvard*, 349.
[10] Hudson, *History of Lexington*, 263.

years old; and if for three years, the cattle were to be three years old.[1]

Ashburnham in 1781 voted eighteen head of cattle to each man entering the service. If he served one year, the cattle were to be one year old; if for two years, the cattle were to be two years old; and if for three years, the cattle were to be three years old.[2]

The town of Boston on May 6, 1778, proposed a bounty of sixty pounds per man for each of the fifty in which the town was deficient on the call for three years' men, and twenty pounds for each of the thirty-six men on the call for service in New York.[3] The Committee at the same meeting claimed that the town had five hundred and twenty-seven men, eighty-five officers, one hundred and six artificers and fourteen quarter-masters in the Continental service, besides nearly three hundred in the navy. At an adjourned town meeting June 3, 1780, Boston voted to raise three hundred thousand pounds to carry on the war, which was subsequently increased to five hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and on June 19 the same year,[4] it was voted to instruct Colonel Proctor not to go beyond one thousand pounds for bounty per man. The amount actually paid does not appear on record. On April 9, 1782,[5] a committee reported to the town that they had paid bounties to the different classes, to most of them forty-five pounds per man, and for other classes in sums varying from forty pounds down to fifteen pounds per man. This was probably in specie, though the record does not say so.

The town of Lancaster on June 23, 1780, under a call for forty men empowered its committee to hire the men on any terms they thought proper, and three days later accepted the committee's report to pay each man fourteen hundred pounds or thirteen pounds, six shillings, eight pence lawful money, to be paid in the old way in corn, beef and live stock, or any produce as it formerly used to be sold, or the value thereof in Continental money, the above bounty to be in

[1] *Ib.*, 273.
[2] Stearns, *History of Ashburnham*, 169.
[3] *Boston Records*, XXVI. 17.
[4] *Ib.*, 141.
[5] *Ib.*, 243.

addition to that offered by the court.[1] Corn was, under this vote, reckoned at four shillings a bushel, beef at three pence a pound, sole leather, at one shilling, three pence per pound.[2] New Hampshire the same year, in raising men, placed their pay at forty shillings a month, to be reckoned in corn at four shillings a bushel; sole leather at one shilling, six pence a pound; and grass beef, at three pence a pound.[3] On June 28, 1779, the town empowered its committee to give the men called for forty shillings a month, and pay the same at the price of produce of the land at a price equal to the above sum of forty shillings a month.[4] On July 3, 1780, the town voted to raise one hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the purpose of hiring men for the army and for paying their mileage.[5]

On July 20, 1776, Chelsea voted to pay seventy pounds, sixteen shillings for five men who enlisted for service to go to Canada.[6] On May 18, 1778, the town voted to raise one hundred pounds for each of three men to go into the Continental army, and to two men to go to Fishkill fifty pounds each for eight months. If the men were drafted the vote was to be null and void.[7] On May 22, 1781, a committee reported to the town that they could not hire any person to go to General Washington in the Continental army, and on June 1, voted to give one hundred and thirty pounds to each of three men and a hundred pounds apiece to go into the Continental army under General Washington.[8] On October 14, 1779, the town voted five hundred dollars to each man that enlisted or was drafted. At an adjournment of the same meeting held half an hour later the town voted to raise two hundred and twenty dollars more for each man that enlisted or was drafted for three months.[9] On June 12, 1779, Chelsea voted to each man who voluntarily enlisted to go

[1] *Military Annals of Lancaster*, 171.
[2] *Acts and Resolves*, V. 1288.
[3] *N. H. State Papers*, VIII. 863.
[4] *Military Annals of Lancaster*, 167.
[5] *Ib.*, 173.
[6] Chamberlain, *History of Chelsea*, II. 479.
[7] *Ib.*, 484.
[8] *Ib.*, 485.
[9] *Ib.*, 491.

into the service two thousand dollars, and to pay the same when they passed muster,[1] but this did not secure the men and thirty-nine drafted men paid a fine of one hundred and fifty pounds each. July 4, 1780, Chelsea voted to raise ninety-six hundred pounds for four men to go into the Continental army for six months. This was twenty-four hundred pounds for each man.[2]

The votes of these towns in regard to filling their quotas and the bounties offered may be taken as fairly representative of the action of all towns in the State, as will be seen. The details are different but the action of the towns is substantially the same. In getting recruits the towns do not appear to have made much use of the press. Sometimes the papers published the statutes or orders calling for men and so far as examined did not notice the action of the towns thereunder. Nor were there any public meetings to stimulate enlistments, so prominent a feature of the Civil War. Broadsides were printed and posted, some of which are noted. The work of securing men was chiefly by personal solicitation on part of the local committees and militia officers. By reading between the lines of the Statutes and the town records referred to, one can see the difficulties encountered as well as the political and social conditions of the towns.

Many of the drafted men hired substitutes. The prices paid varied with each case, and the period of the war in which the men were hired. The conscripts received prompt notice of their being drafted from the militia officers. As a sample the following:

To Dea. John Sail, Sir:

This is to inform you are this evening drafted as one of the Continental men to go to General Washington's headquarters, and you must go or find an able bodied man in your Room, or pay a fine of twenty pounds in law, money in twenty-four hours.

Samuel Clark, *Capt.*

[1] Chamberlain, *History of Chelsea, II.* 492.
[2] *Ib.*, 493.

(Endorsed) Chelsea May 21st 1778

then received of Deacon Sail twenty pounds law. money in full of the within. Received by me

'EDWARD WAIT *Clerk* [2]

LANCASTER Feb ye 1st 1777

Received of Levi Moore twelve pounds for going into three years' service.

LUTHER FAIRBANKS [3]

BOLTON July ye 2nd 1776

Then received of my Honoured Father Saml Baker twelve pounds including the bounty of three pounds from the Government for my intering the service . . . in Room and Stead of Abel Baker a minor son of my said Father.

SAML BAKER JR.[3]

WALTHAM May 23rd 1777

Then received of Joseph How and Eleakin Atherton the sum of thirty pounds L. M. for my servant negro man named York Ruggles who has enlisted and passed muster . . . for the town of three years pay in the Continental army . . .

(*Signature missing*)

The towns paid these bounties, sometimes in cash, sometimes by promissory notes and sometimes in produce and live stock. The details are significant of the poverty of the people, and as showing how the difficulties of getting men heavily increased as the war dragged on.

The Legislature enforced upon the towns the Statute penalties for delinquency in filling the quotas. This gave rise to heated controversy, between the Legislature and the municipalities, the latter often claiming that they had filled their quotas, or that some of their men furnished had been wrongly accredited to another town, or that the number

[1] *Military Annals of Lancaster*, 484.
[2] *Ib.*, 150.
[3] *Ib.*, 151.

assigned to them was unfair. Where they could establish their claim the Legislature remitted the penalties.[1]

The truth is that by 1779 and 1780 the State was practically bankrupt and the men were weary of the war. By the latter year in many towns, every able bodied man between sixteen and sixty had seen service for a longer or shorter period. In all the towns there were very few men who had not at sometime during the war served an enlistment. Many of them had imbibed a strong dislike for military life. When approached by committees to enlist the man would say: "I have had my term. I have fought bravely. Let my neighbor do likewise." When told of the greatness of the cause, he replied that it was of no more consequence to him than to others; that his pay would not support him and he could not ruin himself and his family. Perhaps the neighbor from patriotic motives and anxious for a chance to fight the enemy enlisted, but the battle he wanted to fight did not come off in a month, two months, or three months. His patriotism cooled; he grew homesick to see his wife and children; then he would be sent to the hospital. From there, whether from hospital or tent, the road home was broad and straight and often, too often, he took it. He was disgusted with the service and averse to re-entering it. In civil life he was accustomed to the broadest freedom of thought and action. Excepting service in the Continental line, his term of duty was short. There was no inducement for him to submit to the exactions of military discipline, or of applying himself to the irksome details of military training. The deprivations of home comforts and freedom, the poor food and shelter, the hardships of the service and neglect in sickness increased his dislike for the army.

Large numbers of the militia were men of mature years, owning farms and having dependent families. The calls often came in the busiest season in planting or harvesting time, when their presence at home was absolutely necessary to keep their wives and children from want. One of General Stark's most trusted officers, and the one who commanded the escort of the Burgoyne's prisoners to Boston, was obliged to go without leave to New Hampshire to save his crops.

[1] *Acts and Resolves*, v. 1298, 1310, 1377, 1378.

He states in his excuse to the authorities that his family was then sick; that his fields lay exposed to ruin; and that it was impossible to hire a person capable of taking care of his sick family and crops, though he used his utmost endeavor to do so. This is probably a fair statement of the situation with many of the men called to service. The laws, especially those relating to the recruiting of the eighty-eight battalions, were very severe. Every man drafted had to go or furnish a substitute within twenty-four hours, or pay a penalty of ten pounds or more. Even if he was physically disqualified for service, he was still required to furnish a substitute under a heavy penalty. These harsh terms did not increase the popularity of the service.

The currency conditions intensified the difficulties. The pay of the soldiers was originally fixed in 1775 and 1776 when paper money was on par with silver. In January, 1777, it took one and one-fourth in bills to equal one in silver. In January, 1778, the ratio was four to one. It steadily declined until 1780 when for a few months it stood sixty to one, and in May, 1781, the currency become entirely worthless and ceased to circulate. It is hard now to imagine the chaos which ensued and the dissatisfaction varying from bitter remonstrances to open mutiny which this bred in the army.[1] Men who had enlisted into the Continental line in the earlier years of the war deserted in number, went home and re-enlisted on the quota of some other town for the sake of larger bounties offered. From the close of 1778 the men were virtually serving without pay and all the while as they well knew, their families were in danger of destitution. They were compelled to run heavily in debt to support their wives and children. The most distinguished soldier in the army from Worcester, spent his last years in the debtors' prison, confined there for debt that he had contracted for the support of his family while in the army. The State struggled with the problem as best it could, but was unable to afford much relief. Things eventually came to such a condition in consequence that open riots and blood-shed occurred in New Hampshire, and in Massachusetts the troubles culminated in Shays' rebellion.

[1] *Acts and Resolves*, v. 1277–1279. *N. H. State Papers*, xvi. 49.

In the last years of the war it will be observed from the Statutes referred to, that the State and the towns heavily increased the pay and bounties offered the men. This was largely due to the depreciation of the currency, but a part of it was intended to stimulate enlistment, yet it failed to bring the hoped for results and did not attract men to the army. These things, well known to every one familiar with the military history of the war, bring into clear relief the defects of the militia system as a method to fight a long war.

The weakness of the militia as a fighting force hardly needs restatement. It will fight bravely behind breastworks. General Putnam said of it at Bunker Hill that "The Americans are not afraid of their heads, but only think of their legs." It will stand for a time against an enemy in front, but it cannot be depended upon for long under a heavy face fire, nor under a flank or rear movement of the enemy. When it breaks, it generally throws away its arms and accoutrements and cannot be relied upon for further part in the action. While a well disciplined regiment will often break under a prolonged or overwhelming front fire, or by an attack on its flank or rear, it can still be relied upon and brought back into the battle. Its organization is never lost. This was demonstrated on many fields during the Revolution and Civil War. It is easy to imagine what would have happened on those eventful afternoons of July 2nd and 3rd, 1863, at Gettysburg if Longstreet's veterans, when they struck the Union line had encountered raw militia, instead of equally well disciplined troops, hardened by long and bloody campaigns. At Bunker Hill, Saratoga and Bennington the militia fought creditably, but it was either behind breastworks or the foe was in front of it. Yet at Camden and on many other fields it broke at the first fire, and was not again an effective force in the battle.

Why the colonies should have continued to employ such a feeble instrument is not far to seek. The dread of a standing army was ingrained in the very nature of the people. They not only feared it; but would not adopt any policy which looked towards its establishment. The Continental Congress had no authority over the States. Each colony was not only independent, but jealous of it. While Congress

could recommend and express a desire, the States would fill their quotas in their own way and on terms of pay and length of service to suit their own ideas and convenience. The men of the Continental line, who were enlisted for three years or the war, were the back-bone of the army and Washington's main support throughout the conflict. It was the staying force in every battle, and always gave a good account of itself. It fought the veteran soldiers of England as bravely as men could, and showed all the courage and stubborn qualities of the best American troops, exemplified so many times in the battles of the Civil War and in the recent struggle in France.

In the Revolution the militia system was thoroughly tried out. In the Civil War the volunteer system was also tried out, and after two years' experience proved a failure too. When the United States entered the World War in 1917 the country, profiting by its previous experience, adopted the conscription method. It proved to be a great success, and its results showed the superiority of the draft in raising men for a war. Conscription is the most equitable and most democratic method to fill the armies of a republic. It is unlikely that in future wars the country will raise its army by any other method.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. Norcross, and C. P. Greenough.

INDEX

A.

Abbott, Jacob, 237.
Acadia, memoire et description, 2.
Acadien, 72.
Active, 80, 93*n.*
Adams, Charles Francis, on Dana, 341.
Adams, George Burton, Corresponding Member, 6, 42.
Adams, James Truslow, stamp act papers, 215; Resident Member, 320, 340.
Adams, John, 129; letter, 3; Bernard on, 244.
Adams, Samuel, 141, 254*n.*
Adams, Tom, 58.
Adams, *Mrs.* W. S., 47.
Adams, Zabdiel Boylston, portrait, 186.
Adams, ———, 92.
Adventure, 53, 146.
Ainslie, James, 277.
Alden, Sarah, 153.
Alfred, 98.
Allen, Gardner Weld, Captain Hector McNeill, 46.
Almy, William, on Newport riots, 234.
Alsace, medal, 215.
America, 80, 147, 148.
American Antiquarian Society, gift, 339.
American Numismatic Society, 5.
American Tartar, 80, 90.
Amherst, Jeffrey, 340.
Amherst College, centenary medal, 5.
Amory, Frederic, gift, 214, 224.
Amory, James S., papers, 214, 224.
Amory, Jonathan & John, 263.
Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, Holborn medal, 320.
Anderson, Alexander, 185.
Anderson, William, 219, 222.
Andrew, Edith, gift, 340.
Andrew, Henry Hersey, 340.
Andrew, John Albion, letter, 2; relics, 340.
Appleton, Francis Henry, gift, 339.
Appleton medal, 339.
Appomattox Court House, Va., Key, 215.
Appleton, Francis Henry, gift, 186.
Arnold, Benedict, 72; in Canada, 141, 285.
Ashburnham, Mass., bounty to recruits, 363.
Ashurst, Richard L., 326.
Athawes, Edward, 217; and son, 219, 222.
Atherton, Eleakin, 366.
Attucks, Crispus (Michael Johnson), 152.
Auchmuty, Robert, 280.
Auguste, l', 149.
Austin, Catharine, gift, 320.
Austin, Cato, 85.
Austin, James Trecothick, 320.
Austin, William, 41.

B.

Bacon, Anthony, & Co., 222.
Bageley, John, 329.
Baker, John, petition, 2.
Baker, Leblun, 81.
Baker, Samuel, 366.
Baker, ———, 131.
Balch, Benjamin, 85.
Balch, Israel, 85.
Balch, Thomas, 85.
Bangs, Chipman, 85.
Banks, Charles Edward, gifts, 185, 224, 285.

Barclay, David, Jr., 217; and sons, 220, 222.
Barker, Thomas, 85.
Barnard, Jonathan, 217.
Barnard, Nathaniel, 262, 273.
Barr, J. E., letter, 2.
Barrett, Mary, 175.
Barrett, Nathaniel Augustus, 175.
Barrington, William Wildman, Viscount Barrington, 242.
Bartol, Cyrus Augustus, 214, 320.
Bartol, Elizabeth H., gift, 214.
Barton Charles C., drawings, 326.
Bass, Philip, Jr., 81.
Barrett, James, 20.
Bathorick, Abel, 85.
Battery, the, 319.
Bayley, Frank W., gift, 285.
Beal, Ebenezer, 85.
Belknap, Jeremy, letters to Eliot, 319.
Bell, John, 219.
Bell, Thomas, 137.
Bennett, Peter, 288.
Bennett, Richard, 288.
Bennett, Susanna, 288.
Benson, Godfrey Rathbone, Lord Charnwood, Corresponding Member, 6.
Benyon, John Foster, gift, 165.
Berger, Rachel (Storer), 230.
Bernard, Francis, 243, 249*n*; on riots, 254, 255; libel, 269; commissioner's retreat, 280; order, 319.
Berry, Thomas, 85.
Betsey, 185.
Biddle, ———, 101, 111.
Bigelow, Alice Bradford (Woodman), 338.
Bigelow, Cornelia Frothingham (Read), 338.
Bigelow, Daphne Florence (Madison), 329.
Bigelow, Elizabeth (Bragg), 330.
Bigelow, Erastus Brigham, papers, 41.
Bigelow, Henry Jacob, medal, 215.
Bigelow, Jacob, College of Medicine, Philadelphia., 3; portrait, 186.
Bigelow, Joseph Enos, 329.
Bigelow, Melville Madison, memoir, 328; writings, 333.
Bigelow, William Enos, 329.
Bigelow, William Sturgis, gifts, 3, 42, 225; fund, 215.
Bigot, Jacques, 229.
Billiard, John, 85; account, 113.
Black, Richard, 277.
Blackett, Joshua, 85.
Blackwell, Jacob, 277.
Blake, Edward, papers, 214.
Blake, *Mrs.* S. Parkman, gift, 214.
Blasdell, Jonathan, 85.
Blasdell, Nicolas, 185.
Blin, Peter, 288.
Bliss, Daniel, 8, 12.
Bliss, Daniel, Jr., 19.
Bliss, Hannah, 14.
Bliss, Phebe, 13.
Bliss, Samuel, 14.
Bliss, Thomas Theodore, 14.
Bodwell, William P., 339.
Boit, Robert Apthorp, fund, 294.
Boldery, John, 85.
Bolton, Charles Knowles, memoir of E. H. Gilbert, 199; library committee, 321.
Bonaparte, Pierre Napoleon, sketches of, 42.
Boody, Robert, commission, 165.
Book of Merit, Order of the Purple Heart, 197.
Boston, Brattle Square Church, 1, 5; failures, 1837, 1; Charles River Basin, 2, 5; Handel and Haydn Society, 2; Franklin School medal, 4; contempt for strangers, 59; Franklin School Medals, 189; actors, etc., 224; on revenue laws, 266, 268, 281; mathematical schools, 287; West Church, 320; Summer Street Fire Committee, 339; lantern slides, 339; bounty to recruits, 363.
Boston, frigate, 47, 50, 73, 139; officers and crew, 85; journal, 90; needs of, 114; guns, 117; prize money, 126.
Boston, Hartford & Erie R. R., 285.

Boston Surgical Society, medal, 215.
Boston University, law school, 331.
Bostonian Society, gift, 225.
Bosworth & Griffith, 219.
Bourgogne, 149.
Bowdoin Square in 1825, 339.
Bowen, Henry, 85.
Boyd, James, 48, 71.
Boyd, Nancy (Stuart), 59.
Boyle, Robert, & Scott, 219.
Bradford, Alden, memoir of, 153; Historical Society and, 155*n*; History of Massachusetts, 157; writings, 159.
Bradford, Annie, gift, 1.
Bradford, Gamaliel, 153, 154.
Bradford, Gamaliel, Phineas Taylor Barnum, 189; committee on nominations, 239.
Bradford, John, 122.
Bradford, Margaret (Stevenson), 156, 159.
Bradford, Samuel, papers, 1.
Bradford, Sarah (Alden), 153.
Bradford, Sarah Alden, 154*n*.
Bradford, Thomas, 153*n*.
Bradstreet, Hannibal, 85.
Bragg, Elizabeth, 330.
Braintree, Great Pond, 2.
Brewer, Thomas Mayo, medal, 195.
Brickett, James, 27.
Bridgen, Edward, 217, 219.
Bridgen & Wal [ ], 222.
Briggs, LeBaron Russell, Resident Member, 340.
Brigham, Clarence Saunders, gift, 3.
Britannia, 48.
Broadstreet, Northern, 85.
Brockton, medal, 42.
Brooks, Eleazer, 20.
Broughton, Nicholson, 49.
Brown, Daniel, 16*n*.
Brown, Jeremiah F., 85.
Brown, John, 43.
Brown, John, 85, 101, 112, 118, 122, 124, 126.
Brown, Mather, 286.
Brown, Scipio, 85.
Brown, ———, 147.
Browne, Charlotte, journal, 285.
Browne, William, 19.
Bruce, James, 277.
Bryce, James, Viscount, tribute by C. W. Eliot, 201; by A. L. Lowell, 206; by J. F. Rhodes, 211.
Buchanan, James, & Co., 219.
Buchanan, John, 217, 220.
Buck, Howard M., gift, 4.
Buckminster [Buckmister], Richard, 120.
Buckram, 80, 90.
Budworth, William, 104.
Bufford, John H., lithographs, 42, 165.
Bulfinch, George G., deposit, 285.
Bulfinch, papers, 285.
Bullard, *Mrs.* Mary Reynolds, deposit, 186.
Burch, William, 267, 271, 273, 277, 278.
Burgoyne, John, expedition, 356; prisoners, 358.
Burn, Peter, 104.
Burns, Patrick, 85.
Busby, James, 288.
Bush, William H., gift, 224.
Bussell, Abraham, 85.
Butler, James Davie, 20.
Butler, John, 130.
Buttrick, John, 21.
Buttrick, Stedman, 21*n*.

C.

Cabot, William Brooks, gift, 2.
Cabot, *Mrs.* William Robinson, deposits, 3, 340; gift, 339.
Cadillac, Antoine de la Mothe, description of Acadia, 2.
Calderwood, John, 85.
Calef, Winter, 85, 97.
Campbell, *Sir* Archibald, 25.
Carew, Joseph, 189.
Carleton, Samuel, 85.
Carr, Phineas, 85.
Carrel, John, 85.
Carren, Thomas, 81.
Cary, Robert, & Co., 219.
Castle William, repairs, 319.
Cateran, William, 85.
Cavey, Peter, 85, 128.

Century Association, Choate medal, 320.
Chaddock, John, 85.
Chambers, Christopher, 217, 222; & Co., 220.
Champion & Dickason, 220.
Chandler, ———, 68.
Channing, Walter, portrait, 186.
Charming Peggy, 53.
Charming Sally, 76.
Charnwood, Lord, *see* Benson.
Chase, Irah, 6.
Chase, Peleg Coggeshall; gifts, 6, 186.
Chaumier, ———, 245*n.*
Cheeseman, William, 104.
Cheever, David Williams, 165.
Cheever, William, letter books, 287.
Cheever, William Downes, letter book, 287.
Chelsea, payments for recruits, 364.
Child's Treasury of Knowledge, 238.
Children's story books, 237.
Choate, John, 85.
Choate, Joseph Hodges, medal, 320.
Christie, Robert & James, 219.
Clark, John, London, 217, 220, 222.
Clark, John, account book, 214.
Clark, Lilian Freeman, estate of, gift, 185.
Clark, Peter, 85.
Clark, Samuel, 365.
Clark, William, account book, 214.
Clark, William B., gift, 186.
Clough, Duke, 85.
Coal tar, 46.
Codman, John Sturgis, gift, 3.
Cohasset, Whitcomb papers, 3.
Coker, William, 85.
Columbus, 2.
Colvin, Catharine, gifts, 2, 4.
Commissioners of the Customs, 241; letters, 263, 268, 272; threatened, 269; memorial, 276; to Hood, 278; retreat defended, 279, 282.
Comstock, W. O., gift, 320.
Concord, church troubles, 15, fight, 20.
Connecticut, Trumbull papers, 30; colony, 33.
Connell, Dennis, 86.
Connell, Henry, 85.
Connell, Patrick, 85.
Connell, Philip, 85.
Conner, Charles, 68.
Connor, Patrick, 85.
Conrad, *Mrs.* Isaac, gift, 339.
Constitution, photographs, 5.
Coolidge, Albert L., sketch, 5.
Coolidge, Charles Allerton, Resident Member, 166, 187; early gravestones, 189.
Cooper, Samuel, on McNeill, 51.
Cooper, Sarah, 234.
Copley, John Singleton, 186, 340.
Corner, John, 245*n,* 250, 284; instructions, 271.
Cossa, Ezekiel, 86.
Costello, John, 85.
Coupi, John, 86.
Courts martial, naval, 144.
Cowart, Cornelius, 86.
Cox, Josiah, 58.
Crane, Benjamin, 85.
Crevecœur, Hector St. John de, letter, 42.
Crocker, Joseph, 319.
Crokatt, Charles, 217, 220.
Crowel, Christopher, 86.
Crowell, William, 85.
Crowely, Bartholomew, 85.
Crowninshield, Benjamin, 85; journal, 90.
Cudworth, ———, 78.
Cummings, John, 27*n.*
Cundall, Frank, 185.
Cunningham, Henry Winchester, gifts, 319, 320.
Currier, N., 165.
Currier, Thomas Franklin, gift, 224.
Currier & Trott, 225.
Curtis, J., lithograph, 42.
Cushing, Thomas, wages of sailors, 83.
Cutter, Thomas, 85.
Cutts, George B., deposit, 3.
Cutts family papers, 3.

D.

Dagueil, Jean Baptiste, 250.
Dagueil, Mary Priscilla (Storer), 230.
Dalaney, John, 86.
Dallin, Cyrus Edwin, medal, 340.
Dana, Richard Henry, Sims case, 341.
Daniel Marcy, log-book, 285.
Dartmouth College, medal, 186.
Darton, William, 6.
Davenport, Bennett Franklin, gifts, 2, 5.
Davenport, Charles, papers, 2, 5.
Davis, Caleb, letter book, 287; papers, 324.
Davis, Isaac, 21.
Davis, Jefferson, letter to Derby, 325.
Davis, Thomas, 86.
Davis, William, 86.
Davis, *Mrs.* William Nye, diary, 3.
Dawson, ———, 248.
Day, William, 80.
Daye, Stephen, monument proposed, 189.
De Berdt, Dennis, 217.
De Berdt & Burkitt, 222.
De Berniere, Henry, 19.
Demmick, ———, 58.
Denton, Frederick W., 46.
Deserters, army and navy, 76.
Deshon, John, 126; on Manley, 52.
Detroit, distances, 44.
Devens, Charles, Sims case, 342.
Dicey, Albert Venn, 212; death, 286.
Dickinson, John, Farmer's Letters, 265, 269.
Dispatch, 217.
Dix, Dorothea Lynde, bible, 3.
Dodge, Daniel Kilham, gift, 3.
Dodge, Hampshire, 86.
Dodge, James, 86.
Dodge, Zachariah, 86.
Dorchester, Workingmen's party, 3; savings bank, 225.
Dove, 185.
Dovrell, Thomas, 86.
Downs, Joseph, 86.
Dowse, John, 186.
Dowse, Judith (Holland), 186.
Dowse, Relief, portrait, 186.
Dowse, William Bradford Homer, gifts, 185, 186; committee on nominations, 239, 305; council report, 289.
Driscoll, J. Francis, 224.
Duke of Cumberland, 217.
Duncan, George, 156.
Dummer, Jeremiah and wife, 285.
Dunn, John, 58.

E.

Edes, Grace Williamson, gift, 165.
Edes, Henry Herbert, gift, 165; treasurer's accounts, 239.
Edgeworth, Maria, 238.
Edwin, David, 4.
Eliot, Charles William, tribute to Viscount Bryce, 201; medal, 286; on M. M. Bigelow, 331, 335, 336.
Eliot, Margaret (Bradford), 159.
Eliot, Mary Lincoln, gift, 319.
Eliot, William Havard, 159.
Elliot, John, 86.
Ellis, Charles Mayo, 3.
Ellis, Katharine, gift, 3.
Elmes, Elkanah, 86.
Elmes, James, 86.
Emerson, Edward Waldo, a chaplain of the Revolution, 8; gift, 186.
Emerson, Ellen, 320.
Emerson, George Barrell, on Franklin School Medals, 192.
Emerson, Hannah, 10, 26.
Emerson, John, of Conway, 10.
Emerson, John, of Topsfield, 10.
Emerson, Joseph, 10.
Endicott, William Crowninshield, house committee, 320.
Ensigne, David, 81.
Étang, Indians at, 68.
Everett, William, letters, 1.
Emerson, Mary (Moody), 10.
Emerson, Mary Moody, 10, 14, 26.
Emerson, Phebe, 26.
Emerson, Ruth, 14.
Emerson, Thomas, 10.

Emerson, *Rev.* William, biography, 8.
Emerson, William, Jr. 26.
Everett, Charlotte Brooks, letters, 1.
Everett, Edward, medal, 194.

F.

Fairbanks, Luther, 366.
Fairweather, Caesar, 86.
Falmouth, committee of, 109.
Fanny and Jeany, 48.
Fantasque, 149.
Faris, Jack, 86.
Faris, William, 86, 126.
Farlow, John S., 2.
Farlow, John Woodford, gifts, 2, 185, 189; house committee, 320.
Fillmore, Millard, bible, 3.
Fisk, John, 52.
Fitch, Jeremiah, letter book, 1.
Fitzgerald, George, 58.
Fitzgerald, James, 86.
Fitzgerald, John, 86.
Fitzgerald, John, 104.
Flag, federal and other, 16*n.*
Fletcher, Austin B., gift, 6.
Flint, Charlotte Louise, gift, 5.
Flint, Elizabeth Henshaw, gift, 5.
Flint, John, 5.
Flora, 51, 94, 95, 101*n,* 107*n,* 116.
Flourens, Pierre Jean Marie, 172.
Fludyer, Samuel & Thomas, 219, 222.
Foch, Ferdinand, medal, 340.
Foord, Elisha, petition, 2.
Forbes, William Cameron, Resident Member, 6.
Ford, Worthington Chauncey, 6; Trumbull papers, 30, 31; tribute to R. S. Rantoul, 321; to Mr. Rhodes, 327; Mrs. Martin, 345.
Foster, Benjamin, 86.
Foster, Thomas, 86.
Fotheringham, Patrick, 101.
Fowles, Lemuel, 86.
Fox, 51, 92, 95, 101, 103, 108, 109, 116, 121, 125, 134.
Frame, Robert, 86.
Franklin, Benjamin, 140; Boston School Medals, 189, 320.
Franklin, Mass., Dean Academy, 6.
Franklyn, Gilbert, 217, 222.
Freeman, Adam, 86.
Freeman, Constant, 185.
Freeman, Cuff, 86.
Freeman, James, 185.
Freeman, Nathaniel, 185.
Freeman, Nero, 86.
French, Benjamin Frederick, 186.
French, James, 86.
French, Zenas A., gift, 2.
Frothingham, Paul Revere, memoir of E. E. Hale, 307.
Frothingham, Thomas Goddard, the United States in the World War, 166; committee on library, 239, 303.
Fullerton, John, 86.
Furlong, Lawrence, 86, 123, 127.

G.

Gage, Thomas, 247.
Gale, Matthew, 220, 222.
Galway, *see* Massue de Ruvigny.
Gardiner, Charles P., portrait, 186.
Gardiner, John Sylvester John, MS. sermons, 3.
Gardiner, William Howard, papers, 339.
Gardner, Andrew, 80, 93.
Garnet, Nathaniel, petition, 2.
Garrat, John, 86, 130.
Gaspee, 72.
Gates, Horatio, 27, 120; letter to Ward, 320.
General Mifflin, 80, 91.
George, Bartholomew, 104.
Gerwe, Frank J., gift, 2.
Gibbes, James, 277.
Gibbs, Daniel, 56, 58.
Gifford, Carleton S., gift, 165; Order of the Purple Heart, 198.
Gilbert, Edward Hooker, death of, 42; memoir, 199.
Gilbert, Elizabeth Jane (Hooker), 199.
Gilbert, George Henry, 199.
Gilbert, Geraldine Maud Ruthven (Henry), 200.

Gilbert, Prince, 86.
Gill, Moses, 186.
Gill, Relief (Dowse), portrait, 186.
Gillard, John, 86.
Gillingham, Harold E., gift, 165.
Glover, John, 49.
Gooch, George Peabody, Corresponding Member, 166, 187.
Goodrich, Samuel Griswold, 238.
Goodspeed, Charles Eliot, gifts, 4, 185, 214.
Goodspeed, L. L., 6.
Gookin, Daniel, broadside, 3.
Gorham, Nathaniel, portrait, 186.
Gott, Joshua, 86.
Gouge, James, 86.
Graff, Laurance, 185.
Gragg, *see* Gregg.
Graham, Frank & Co., 220.
Gravel, Ludger, gift, 6.
Graves, J., voyage, 2.
Gray, Charles W., McNeill papers, 47.
Gray, Edward, Almy letter, 234.
Gray, *Mrs.* Elizabeth Story, gift, 215.
Gray, Samuel, 86.
Gray, Thomas, Earl of Stamford, 171.
Great Britain, trade acts, 220.
Greeley, Jonathan, 80, 93.
Green, Henry, 86, 95.
Greenleaf, ———, 97.
Greenough, Charles Pelham, Crevecœur letter, 42; gifts, 165. 340; treasurer's accounts, 239. library committee, 321; rendition of Sims, 340.
Greenough, Edith, 176.
Greenough, William Whitwell, 176.
Greenwood Isaac, 289.
Greenwood William, 217, 222.
Greenwood & Higginson, 219.
Gregg, Samuel, 86, 123.
Grew, Jane Norton, gift, 6.
Grey, William de, 276.
Griffen, James, 86.
Grimes, John, 80.
Gross, Simon, 86, 93, 108, 126, 130.
Gross, S. P., medal, 286.
Grove, Silvanus, 220.

H.

Hale, Edward Everett, memoir of, 307.
Hale, Frederick, gift, 41.
Hall, John, 86.
Hallowell, Benjamin, on the *Liberty*, 251, 260, 274.
Hallowell, academy, 160.
Hamilton, George L., gift, 42.
Hamilton, George W., gift, 286.
Hammet, Benjamin, 219.
Hanbury, Capel, 217; and Osgood, 219, 222.
Hancock, John, 130, 220; sloop *Liberty*, 239; order for wines, 262; mourning bracelets, 286.
Hancock, John George Washington, 286.
Hancock, Lydia, 286.
Hancock, 50, 81, 93, 95, 100, 101, 115, 125, 134.
Hannay, Samuel 217, 220, 222.
Happy, 172.
Hare, Charles H., gift, 285.
Harford & Powell, 220.
Harraden, Daniel, 86.
Harraden, Joseph, 87.
Harris, Erastus, orderly book, 339.
Harris, John, 86, 108, 130.
Harris, Owen, 287.
Harris, Susanna (Bennett | Love), 288.
Harris, Thomas, 217, 219, 222.
Harris, ———, 104.
Harrison, Gilbert, 217.
Harrison, James, 104.
Harrison, Joseph 252, 274.
Harrison & Barnard, 220.
Harrison, Barnard & Spragg, 263.
Hart, Charles Henry, letters, 2.
Hart, Francis Russell, trade with the West Indies, 171; finance committee, 321; Sir Henry Morgan, 326.
Hartwell, *Mrs.* Edward Mussey, gift, 339.
Harvard, Mass., bounty to recruits, 362.
Harvard College, class of 1852, 165.
Hathaway, Charles, 87.

Haven, Mary E., gift, 340.
Hawk, 80
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 238.
Hayden, John Cole, portrait, 186.
Hayley, George, 217, 220, 222, 262.
Heath, William, 120.
Heck, Francis, 87.
Henderson, Benjamin, 87.
Henderson, Joseph, 86.
Henry, Geraldine Maud Ruthven, 200.
Henry, Margaret (Vaughan), 200.
Henry, Mitchell, 200.
Henshaw, Joshua, 257.
Hewes, John, 87.
Higginson, John, 219.
Hill, Stephen, 93, 116.
Hill, Wills, earl of Hillsborough, 242.
Hillard, George Stillman, 185.
Hillsborough, earl of, *see* Wills Hill.
Hingham, Whitcomb papers, 3.
Hinkston, ———, 94.
Hinman, Elisha, 98, 108.
Hodgson, Peter, 219.
Hogg, Ebenezer, 86.
Holden, *Mrs.* Austin, gift, 286.
Holland, Eliza Winslow Eaton, gifts, 2, 5.
Holland, Judith, 186.
Holliday, John, 87.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, on Bigelow, 330.
Holmes, Thomas J., list of Mathers, 185.
Homans, John, portrait, 186.
Hood, Samuel, 246; instructions to Corner, 271.
Hooker, Elizabeth Jane, 199.
Hope, 248.
Hopkins, *Mrs.* Archibald, gift, 1.
Hopkins, Esek, 75.
Hopkins, Nathaniel, 87.
Horne, Daniel, 86.
Horse Guards, troop of, 214.
Houghton Mifflin Company, gift, 5.
How, Joseph, 366.
Howard, Martin, Jr., 235.
Howe, Walker Clarke, 215.
Hubbard, ———, 59.
Hudson, Thomas, 87.
Hulton, Henry, 267, 271, 273, 277, 278.
Hutchins, William, 87.
Hutchinson, Thomas, manuscripts, 155*n*; on impressment, 250; *Liberty*, 253, 259; commissioners' retreat, 280; letter to Jackson, 281.

I.

Impressment of seamen, 250, 255*n*, 256, 283.
Independence, 138*n*.
Indians, names, 2; Emerson on, 24; mounds, 43; at Étang, 68.
Ingersoll, Joseph, 87.
Ireland, trade with the West Indies, 171.
Iris, 321.
Irish, John, 87.
Iron, export of bar from colonies, 221.

J.

Jackson, Andrew, letter, 2.
Jackson, John Barnard Sweet, portrait, 186.
Jacques, Samuel, 285.
Jamaica, New England settlers, 3; council minutes, 185.
Jay family, letters, 227.
Jeffrey, James, 49.
Jenkins, Charles F., gifts, 185, 186.
Jenkins, Lawrence Walter, gift, 214.
Jenks, Charles William, gifts, 1, 5.
Jenks, Henry Fitch, gifts from family, 1, 5.
Jenks, John Henry, papers, 1.
Jenks, William, papers, 1.
Jenks, and Palmer, 1.
Jennings, William, 104.
Jennis, Peter, 81.
Jennison, William, 87.
Jermyne, John, 70.
Johnson, Benjamin, 87.
Johnson, Mary (Stover), 233.
Johnson, Michael (Crispus Attucks), 152.

Johnson, Seth, 233.
Johnston, John, 122.
Jones, Alexander, 87.
Jones, John Paul, 52, 135; on court martial, 81; letters, 137, 139, 147, 148, 149, 150.
Journals, ship's, 126, 128.
Julius Caesar, 76.
Juno, 185.

K.

Keef, John, 87.
Kellen, William Vail, reads paper, 189; memoir of M. M. Bigelow, 328.
Kelly, Matthew, 87.
Kent, Benjamin, 77.
Kent, Joseph, 288.
Kentucky, Indian mounds, 43.
Kerr, Thomas, 277.
Kidder, Henry P., 3.
Kidder, *Mrs.* Henry P., gift, 3.
Kilburn, Warren S., gift, 339.
Kilenyi, Julius A., medal, 286.
Kilham, Daniel, letter, 3.
Killmarnock, Alexander, 87.
Kimball, Edward, 87.
Kimball and Davenport, 5.
Kinnicutt, Lincoln Newton, tribute to, 187.
Kirk, Thomas, on *Liberty,* 251, 273, 276.
Kittredge, George Lyman, committee on nominations, 239.
Knight, Nathaniel, tolls account, 185.
Knowles, James, 87, 93, 108.
Knowles, Richard, 172.
Knowlton, N. W., medal, 195.
Knox, Henry, letters, 151; Bradford's sermon, 160.

L.

Ladd, *Mrs.* Maynard, 186.
Lafayette, Marie Jean Paul Roch Yves Gilbert de Motier, marquis de, address to, 172; Peale's portrait, 224.
Lake, Everett John, 30.
Lamb, James, 104.
Lamb, William, 87, 128.
Lancaster, Mass., payment for recruits, 363.
Lane, Jabez, 120.
Lane, Thomas, 217; and Co., 219.
Lane, Son & Fraser, 222.
Langdon, John, 112.
La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, François Alexandre Frédéric, duc de, 46.
Laurie, Walter, 22.
Lawrence, James, gift, 319.
Lawrence, L., 195.
Lawrence, Robert Means, paper read, 327.
Leach, John, 289.
Leadan, John, 87.
Leadbetter, Increase, 87.
Leblanch, Lewis, 87.
Lee Arthur, 242.
Lee, Caesar, 87.
Lee, Francis, 277.
Leighton, J., medal, 196.
Letcher, John, pass, 2.
Lever, Seton & Croftes, 219.
Lewis, Joseph, 87.
Lexington, bounty to recruits, 362.
Libby prison, photograph, 186.
Libels, unpunished, 269.
Liberty, sloop, seizure of, 239; sailings of, 262; case, 273.
Limitation of armaments, conference, 224.
Lincoln, Abraham, portrait, 41; relief in bronze, 165.
Linkletter, Henry, 68.
Linn, John L., 87, 128, 129, 141.
Liscomb, William, 87.
Lisle, D., 252, 274.
Littel, Ephraim, petition, 2.
Livingston, Brockholst, 227.
Livingston, Catherine, 227.
Livingston, William, life of, 2, 226; papers, 225.
Livingston, ———, 138.
Lloyd, Arthur, 87.
Lockwood, James, letter, 71.
Lodge, Henry Cabot, return of Trumbull papers, 30; gift, 224; *Proceedings,* 321; presides, 339.
London, merchants, on stamp act repeal, 215.

Longley, James Wilberforce, death, 286.
Longley, *Mrs.* James Wilberforce, gift, 285.
Lord, Arthur, 30; gift, 2; presides, 319; finance committee, 321; *Proceedings*, 321.
Loring, Emma Lovell, gift, 41.
Lotbinière, Louis, 142.
Love, Susanna (Bennett), 288.
Lovering, Thomas, 87, 130.
Low, John, 87.
Low, John, address to Lafayette, 172.
Lowell, Abbott Lawrence, memoir of Barrett Wendell, 174; tribute to Viscount Bryce, 206.
Lowell, Ezra, 87.
Lubey, Richard, 87.
Lunt, Timothy, 87.
Lunt, William Parsons, papers, 285.
Lydia, 249.
Lyons, Joseph, 104.

M.

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, on puritans, 35.
McCleary, Helen C., gift, 224.
McCleary, Maria Lynde, portrait, 224.
McCleary, Samuel Foster, portrait, 224.
McCulloh, Henry Eustace, 277.
McDowell, Edward, 87.
McElroy, David, 88.
McIntyre, William, 87.
Mackay, William, 81.
McKinnon, Charles, 87.
McKown, John, 58.
McLaughlin, Lawrence, 88.
Malcolm, James, 104.
McNeill, Hector, 46, 87; letter book, 46; autobiography, 47, 54; quarrels, 51; instructions, 75; petitions to congress, 134, 143; privateers, 145, 146; accounts, 151.
McNeill, Charles, 55, 88.
McNeill, Elizabeth, 61.
McNeill, Hector, Jr., 48, 67, 87.
McNeill, Henry, 55.
McNeill, Isaac, 61.
McNeill, Jacob, 61.
McNeill, Jean, 56, 61.
McNeill, John, 55.
McNeill, Lettice, 55.
McNeill, Malcolm, 55; death, 65.
McNeill, Margaret, 56.
McNeill, Mary, 56, 61, 67.
McNeill, Mary (Stuart), 55, 63; death, 65.
McNeill, Mary (Watt), 49; letters to, 108, 136, 140.
McNeill, Mary (Wilson), 48.
McNeill, Neal, 55.
McNeill, Robert, 48, 66, 87, 130.
McNeill, Sarah, 49.
McNeill, William, 61, 66.
Madeira, duty on wines of, 240.
Madison, Daphne Florence, 329.
Malcolm or Malcom, Daniel, 245, 249, 256 268.
Manby, John, 277.
Manley, John, 50, 81, 90, 100, 104, 110, 119; quarrel with McNeill, 51, 115; instructions, 75.
Maria, 72.
Marine committee, Continental Congress, 73, 100, 110, 114, 125; wages and prize money, 82; report on Capt. Hector McNeill, 143.
Marine, officers of, 128, 129.
Maroney, John, 80, 90.
Marrs, *Mrs.* Kingsmill, gifts, 215, 286, 320, 339.
Marshall, ———, 251, 274.
Marshfield, committee of safety, 2.
Marshall, John, portrait, 5.
Martha's Vineyard, material on history, 185.
Martin, David, 4.
Martin, Victoria (Woodhull), 345.
Martin, William, 67.
Mascoll, Joseph, 88.
Massachusetts, prison, 41; baby show, 42; Bradford's History, 157; 2d Cavalry, 186; college, 228; on revenue acts, 266, 268; raising of troops in the Revolution, 345.

Massachusetts Historical Society, annual committees, 239; report of council, 290; publications, 291; photostat, 291; Americana, 292; treasurer, 293; librarian, 301; cabinet keeper, 303; on library and cabinet, 303; officers, 305; house committee, 320; finance, 321; *Proceedings*, 321; historical trust fund, 321.
Massue de Ruvigny, Henri de, Earl of Galway, 171.
Masterman, James, 87.
Mathers, list of works, 185.
Matthews, Albert, gift, 285.
Mayhew, Jonathan, Bradford's Memoir, 163.
Maynard, George, 219.
Mayo, Lawrence Shaw, Diary of Gov. Long, 239, gifts, 285, 339.
Meadows, Philip, 171.
Medals and coins, gifts, 5, 42.
Mehaney, Jeremiah, 88.
Mellen, John, 286.
Mercury, 91, 100, 105.
Merriman, *Mrs.* Helen Bigelow, gift, 41.
Merritt, G. W., medal, 196.
Merry, Anthony, 217, 220, 222.
Meschinet, John, 88.
Meservey, Philip, 87.
Mico, Joseph, 219.
Mildred, Daniel, 217.
Mildred & Roberts, 220, 222.
Miles, Charles, 25, 27.
Milford, 73, 74, 95, 102.
Militia, defects of, 369.
Mills, Edward, 287.
Milne, John, 87, 93, 108.
Minerva, 54.
Minott, Jones Clark, 81.
Mitchell, Francis N., 196, 197.
Mitchell, George, 87.
Mitchell, John, 87.
Mitchell, Joseph, 88.
Mitchell, Joshua, 88, 94.
Moffat, Thomas, 235.
Molineaux, William, 253.
Molleson, William, 219.
Monk, George Paris, 104.
Montague, John, 111.
Moody, Mary, 10.
Moody, Samuel, 10.
Moody, Samuel, 88.
Moore, Albert H., deposit, 320.
Moore, Charles, gift, 2.
Moore, Florence L., deposit, 320.
Moore, Levi, 366.
Morgan, John, 87.
Morgan, Thomas, 87.
Morison, Samuel Eliot, memoir of A. Bradford, 153.
Morse, J. E. gift, 5.
Motley, John Lothrop, verses on, 214.
Moulton, Bartholomew, 88.
Moylan, James, 140.
Mugford, William, 88.
Mullcahey, Michael, 88.
Mulling, William, 88.
Munro, William, 87.
Munro, William Bennett, Resident Member, 6, 42.
Murphy, Michael, 87.
Murray, David, 233.
Murray, John, 88.
Murray, Martha Wilson, 233.

N.

Nashville, Tenn., founding of, 43.
Navy Board, Eastern Department, 117, 118.
Neate, William, 217.
Neate, Pigou & Booth, 220, 222.
Neave, Richard, 217; and son, 220, 222.
Neil, Jane, 49*n*.
Neil, Mary (McNeill), 49*n*.
Neil, Thomas, 49*n*.
New Bedford Standard, school medal, 165.
Newburyport, medal, 165.
Newcastle, Duke of, *see* Pelham-Holles.
New England, Council of, Seal, 4.
New England Company, Seal, 5.
New England Magazine, 339.
New England Sanitary Commission, 41.
New Hampshire, medal of Cincinati, 186.
New Oxford, Diamond of, 2.
Newman, William, 88.
Newport, R. I., stamp riots, 235.
New Song, stamp riots, 236.
Nichols, Charles Lemuel, tribute

to L. N. Kinnicutt, 187; gift of Livingston papers, 225, 290, 302.
Nichols, Robert, 88.
Nickelson & King, 220.
Nixon, John, 120.
Nobel, Mark, 88.
Nock, James, 88.
Norcross, Frances L., 320.
Norcross, Grenville Howland, 152, 228, 325; gifts, 5, 42, 172, 286, 339; finance committee, 321.
Norcross, Otis, gift, 339.
Northampton, Round Hill School, 5.
North Bridgewater, Adelphian Academy, 165.
Norton, John, 219.
Norton, Sara, the Livingston papers, 225.
Norwood, Andrew, plan, 2.
Nowell, Samuel, 88.
Nowlan, Richard, 88.
Nutt, John, 219.

O.

Oakes, Jonathan, 80.
O'Brien, Joseph, 88.
O'Brien, Robert Lincoln, Resident Member, 42, 165.
O'Brien, William, 88.
Ogilvie, Charles, 217, 222.
Ogilvie & Mechie, 220.
Olive, Gregory, 217; & Co., 220.
Oliver, Andrew, commissioners' retreat, 280.
Oliver, Henry Kemble, 165.
Order of the Purple Heart, 197.
Osgood, David, portrait, 186.
Osgood, Nehemiah, 88.
Otis, *Mrs.* Harrison Gray, "Barclays of Boston," 345.
Overton, Thomas, 2.

P.

Packets, mails by, 272.
Paine, Richard, 88.
Paine, Thomas, 104.
Palfrey, John Gorham, 153*n*.
Pallas, 53, 145.
Palmes, Richard, 88, 97, 112, 113, 116, 119, 125, 126.
Paper currency in colonies, 221.
Parish, Elijah, election sermon, 3.
Parker, Caleb, 88.
Parker, Joseph, 88.
Parker, L. M., map of Shrewsbury, 339.
Parker, Theodore, 4.
Parker, Thomas, 88.
Parker, ———, 80, 90.
Parrott, John, 88.
Parsons, William, 88.
Parsons, Zaccheus, 88.
Paxton, Charles, 265, 267, 270, 271, 273, 277, 278.
Payne, Edward & René, 220.
Peale, Rembrandt, Lafayette, 224.
Pederson, Hants, 88.
Peirce, Benjamin, 88.
Peirce, J. Winslow, 340.
Pelham-Holles, Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, 242*n*.
Pennsylvania National Guard, 28th Regiment Medal, 165.
Pepperrell, Lady, 286.
Perkins, Edward Newton, photograph, 186.
Perkins, Elisha, electric tractors, 286, 325.
Perkins, Thomas, 88.
Perkins, Buchanan & Brown, 219, 222.
Perry, James De Wolfe, letters, 214.
Perry, Jacob, 88.
Perry, John, 104.
Petters, Joseph, 81.
Petters, Pomp, 88.
Pettingale, Ephraim, 88.
Pettit, Joseph, 88.
Petty, William, Earl of Shelburne, 241.
Phelps, Aholiab, 88.
Phenix, 48.
Philbrook, Joel, 88.
Phillips, John, account, 319.
Philpot, Thomas, & Co., 220.
Pierce, Benjamin, letters, 214.
Pierpont, Robert, 122.
Pilgrim day oration, 4.
Pitcher, ———, 140.
Pitts, Boston, 88.
Plunket, Abraham, 88.
Pluton, 149.
Porter, James, 241*n*.

Portland, Me., customs records, 185.
Portsmouth, 80, 90.
Posts, colonial, 272.
Potter, John, 88.
Powel, Mary E., gift, 6.
Powell, John, 234, 253.
Powers, Thomas, 195.
Pownalborough, 100.
Pratt, Bela, 339.
Pray, Samuel, 41.
Prescott, Samuel, 19.
Prescott, William Hickling, MS. of Philip the Second, 319.
Prince, Morton, gift, 340.
Prince, Nathan, 289.
Privateers, 80.
Prizes, regulations, 81; money withheld, 82.
Providence, 75*n*, 140.
Prudhomme, G., 215.
Pulteney, John, 171.
Puritans, Macaulay on, 35.
Purkett, Henry, daguerreotype, 165.
Putnam, Charles, Gideon, portrait, 186.

Q.

Quebec, expeditions against, 224, 285.
Quincy, Eliza Susan, 228.

R.

Rainbow, 51, 94, 101*n*, 107*n*.
Raleigh, 50, 73, 98*n*, 104*n*.
Randall, William, 277.
Randolph, ———, 277.
Ranger, 137.
Ranlett, Frederick Jordan, gift, 165.
Rantoul, Robert, 321.
Rantoul, Robert Samuel, tribute to, 321.
Rauschner, ———, 4.
Ravy, ———, 148.
Ray, Nicholas, 217, 220, 222.
Read, Charles F., gift, 186.
Read, Cornelia Frothingham, 338.
Reed, James, 27.
Reed, Warren A., gift, 42.
Reid, Mayne, 238.
Reid, William B., gift, 186.
Renouf, Sarah (Cooper), 234.
Republic, the, 319.
Revere, Paul, 19, 42; knee-buckles, 186; Franklin medal, 194; plan of mills, 320.
Revere, William Bacon, deposit, 42.
Reynolds, Edward, portrait, 186.
Rhode Island, 358.
Rhodes, James Ford, 286; presides, 1, 41, 185, 201, 224, 285; tribute to Viscount Bryce, 211; retires from Vice Presidency, 290, 327.
Richards, Elise, B., gift, 2.
Richards, William B., 2.
Ricker, John, 88.
Ridley, Catherine (Livingston), 227.
Ridley, Matthew, 227.
Rising States, 77.
Rivoire, Paul, book plate, 42.
Robinson, John, 263, 267, 271, 273, 277, 278.
Rochford, Earl of, *see* Zuylestein.
Rockingham, Lord, *see* Wentworth.
Rodman, Emma, gift, 214.
Rodman, *Mrs.* Samuel, letter, 214.
Rogers, Chace, 88.
Rogers, Nathaniel, 241*n*, 242*n*.
Romney, 111, 248, 271, 274, 281.
Root, Benajah, 28; on Emerson, 29.
Ropes, William, 88.
Ross, John, 140.
Round Hill School, account of, 185, 214.
Royall, James, 104.
Ruggles, Timothy, 268.
Russel, William, 277.
Russell, James, 220, 222.
Rutledge, Thomas P., letter, 285.
Ryan, Michael, 88.

S.

Sackveill, William, 104.
Sage, Ebenezer William, papers, 214.
Sail, John, 365.

St. Germain, Jean Gautier, dit, 230.
St. Germaine, Mary (Storer), 229.
Salano y Bote, José, 149.
Salem, 322.
Salem Turnpike, tolls, 185.
Sampson, Nathaniel, 89.
Samuel, Richard & John, 219.
Sargent, Georgiana Weld, gift, 319.
Sargent, John Osborne, newspapers, 319.
Satisfaction, 80.
Savage, Charles Henry, 2, 4.
Savage, Edward, 2; portraits and engravings, 4; medal, 196.
Savage, Hope, 224.
Savage, Sarah Seaver, portrait, 4.
Sawyer, Moses, 89.
Scammell, ———, 289.
Schaff, Morris, Resident Member, 215; on Jefferson Davis, 306.
Schouler, James, fund, 294.
Scituate, Whitcomb papers, 3.
Scott, *Sir* Walter, engraving, 6.
Sedgwick, Theodore, Jr., life of Livingston, 2, 226.
Sewall, Jonathan, 244.
Sewall, Joseph, 64.
Shadrach, or Jenkins, 340.
Shattuck, Frederick Cheever, gifts, 5, 286; mathematical schools, 287; Davis papers, 324.
Shattuck, George Brune, Davis papers, 324.
Shaw, *Mrs.* Gardiner Howland, gift, 186.
Shaw, *Mrs.* Henry Southworth, gift, 6.
Shaw, Hope (Savage), 224.
Shaw, *Mrs.* John Oakes, diary, 1.
Shaw, Josephine MacChord, gifts, 1, 224.
Shaw, Lemuel, papers, 1, 224.
Shaw, M. I., 2.
Shaw, Samuel Savage, papers, 1.
Shaw, Sally F., gifts, 5, 42.
Shaw, Francis, 89, 93, 134.
Shelburne, Earl of, *see* William Petty.
Shelby, Isaac, 45.
Shepardson, Clara Palmer, 302.
Sherburne, Thomas, 89.
Shillaber, William Green, gift, 186.
Shoot, Adam, 89.
Shrewsbury, map, 339.
Shumway, Frank H., gift, 165.
Signal, the, 319.
Silvester, Richard, information, 254*n.*
Simpson, Thomas, 137*n.*
Sims, James, 89.
Sims, Thomas, rendition of, 340.
Sise, Jane (Neil), 49*n.*
Sise, Shadrach H., 49*n.*
Sleeper, John, 89.
Sloane, Sam, 67.
Smith, Andrew, 89.
Smith, Fitz Henry, Jr., gift, 5.
Smith, John, 89.
Smith, Jonathan, How Massachusetts raised her troops in the Revolution, 345.
Smith, Joseph, 89.
Smith, Theobald, medal, 339.
Smith, William, 4.
Snooks, William, 89.
Somerset, medal, 186.
Somerset, 91, 100, 105, 110.
Sons of Liberty, 256, 264, 281.
Sons of the American Revolution, medal, 286.
Speedwell, 80, 93*n.*
Sprague, Labon, 89.
Springfield, Mass., Artisans Canadiens Français, 6.
Spurzheim, John Gaspar, portrait, 5.
Stamford, Earl of, see Thomas Gray.
Stamp Act correspondence, 215.
Stanwood, Edward, library committee, 321; *Proceedings,* 321.
State trials, Parker's set, 3.
Stead, William, 220.
Stearns, Charles, resignation, 302.
Steuart, Charles, 276.
Stevenson, Margaret, 156.
Stewart, John, 217; and Campbell, 220, 222.
Stiles, Richard, 89.
Stimpson, ———, medal, 195.
Stimson, Frederick Jesup, gift, 326.
Stockbridge, Samuel, 89.
Storer, Charles, 233.
Storer, David Humphreys, 186.

Storer, Ebenezer, 229, 232, 233.
Storer, Jeremiah, 230.
Storer, Joseph, 229; will, 232.
Storer, Malcolm, 303; gifts, 5, 286; Franklin Boston School medals, 189; letters of Mary Storer, 228.
Storer, Mary, letters of, 228.
Storer, Mary, 233.
Storer, Mary Priscilla, 230.
Storer, Rachel, 229.
Storer, Ruth Masters, 230.
Storer, Seth, 231.
Storow, Jethro, 89.
Story, Elisha, 234.
Story, Franklin Howard, 215.
Story, Joseph, 215.
Story, William, 234.
Stoutly, Robert, 81.
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, medal, 320.
Strettell, John, 217, 220, 222.
Strong, Caleb, Bradford's biography, 161.
Sullaway, John, 89.
Sullivan, Richard, Jr., 224.
Sumner, Charles, 42.
Surgeons ship's, 129.
Swallow, 48.
Sweetland, Richard, 89.
Swift, Lindsay, death of, 6; Wolkins on, 6.
Sygemanh, 56.
Symmes, John Cleves, 227.

T.

Tangier, seal, 4.
Taper, Hannah, 287.
Tapping (Tappan), Benjamin Hall, 89, 120.
Taylor, Charles Henry, Jr., gift, 319.
Taylor, James, 89.
Tea and consumption, 156.
Temple, John, 267, 271, 273, 277, 278, 280; on *Liberty,* 261*n.*
Terry, London, 89.
Thomas, John, 272.
Thomas, Joseph, 185.
Thompson, James, 78.
Thompson, Thomas, 50, 73, 74, 96, 98; instructions, 75; letter to, 104.
Thoreau, Henry David, lead pencil, 320.
Thoreau, John, 320.
Thornton, James, 89.
Thorp, Freeman, gift, 41.
Thwing, Supply Clap, papers, 41; flag, 186; portrait, 224.
Thwing, Walter Eliot, gifts, 41, 186, 224, 285.
Ticonderoga, Emerson at, 27.
Tifft, Mathew, 89.
Tilden, John, petition, 2.
Tilden, Joseph, petition, 2.
Tilden, Stephen, petition, 2.
Tileston, F. W., medal, 196.
Tilton, Nathan, ordination, 160.
Tobine, Patrick, 89.
Townsend, Solomon Davis, portrait, 186.
Townshend, Roger, 285.
Tracy, John, petition, 145.
Trecothick, Barlow, 217, 219, 222, 223.
Tree, Francis, 89.
Trenholm, George F., poster, 186.
Tribunal, international, 316.
Triomphant, 149.
Trumbull, David, 30.
Trumbull, Jonathan, 30.
Trumbull papers, returned to Connecticut, 30.
Tubbs, William, 104.
Tucker, Samuel, 47, 50.
Tudman, William, 223.
Turner, J., medal, 194.
Tyler, Edward, letter, 214.

U.

Unicorn, log-book, 285.

V.

Van Court, Alexander, 2.
Van Court, Robert, 2.
Vaudreuil, Louis Philippe Rigaud, Marquis de, 149, 150.
Vaughan, Margaret, 200.
Verdun, medal, 215.
Vernier, S. E., 215.
Vernon, William, 126.
Vialars, Daniel, 217, 220, 222.
Victor, 51, 94, 101*n,* 107*n.*

W.

Wade, George, 285.
Wait, Thomas Baker, American State Papers, 3.
Wait, Edward, 366.
Walcott, Charels Hosmer, 25*n*.
Walker, Benjamin, 151.
Walker, Samuel, engraver, 286.
Walter, Lynde, 224.
Walter, Maria Lynde, 224.
Ward, Artemas, 320.
Ward, Ithmar, 320.
Ward, Nahum, 320.
Ware, John, portrait, 186.
Warren, James, 78, 127; on McNeill, 51, 52.
Warren, John Collins, 325, 345; gift, 41; Children's story books, 237.
Warren, Joseph, 252.
Warren, 75*n*, 127.
Washburn, Charles Grenfill, on Whitefield, 345.
Washburn, Gideon, 89, 95.
Washburn, Henry Bradford, on Wesley, 215; committee on library, 239, 305.
Washington, Booker, 313.
Washington, George, portrait, 4, 185; tomb, 41; Bradford's sermon, 160; Order of the Purple Heart, 197; Ledger A, 291.
Waterman, Samuel, 220.
Waters, William, 89.
Watson, Brook, 130, 217, 219, 223.
Watson & Olive, 222.
Watt, Mary, 49.
Wead, *Mrs.* Leslie C., gift, 3.
Webb, John, 89.
Webber, Daniel, 89.
Webber, Richard, 89.
Webster, Daniel, medal, 340; lithograph, 340.
Webster, Noah, Spelling Book, 185.
Weekly Republic, 319.
Welch, Hezekiah, 89, 94, 126.
Welch, Walker, 89.
Wendell, Barrett, memoir, 174.
Wendell, *Mrs.* Barrett, gift, 41; marriage, 176.
Wendell, Jacob, 174, 228; papers, 41.
Wendell, John, 174; papers, 41.
Wendell Mary (Barrett), 175.
Wentworth, Charles-Mary, portrait, 339.
Wentworth, Charles Watson, Lord Rockingham, 242*n*.
West, Benjamin, treaty of 1782, 340.
West, Samuel, of Dartmouth, 154.
West Indies, trade, 171.
Weston, medal, 186.
Wetherell, Abel, 89.
Wetmore, George Peabody, death of, 6.
Wetmore, William, on Manley, 52.
Whalon, Andrew, 89.
Wheeler, Everett Pepperrell, gift, 286.
Wheelwright, Esther, 230.
Wheelwright, John, 80.
Whitcomb, Howard, gift, 3.
Whitcomb, Kate H., gift, 3.
Whitcomb, Mary, gift, 3.
Whitcomb, Samuel, journal, 3.
Whitcomb, William Wirt, 3.
Whitcomb family, papers, 3.
White, Cornelius, petition, 2.
White, Sylvanus, petition, 2.
White, Warren, petition, 2.
Whitefield, George, 345.
Whiting, Daniel Powers, Army Portfolio, 326.
Whitty, John, 70.
Widdifield, Daniel Brown, 225.
Wilde, *Mrs.* Albion D., deposit, 319.
Wilhelmy, *Mrs.* gift, 215.
Willard, Simon, clock, 225.
Willcock, John, 172.
Willey, William L., gifts, 165, 186, 320.
Williams, ———, 270, 281.
Williams, Benjamin, 89.
Williams, Charles, 89.
Williams, Jonathan, 140.
Williams, William C., gift, 214.
Willson, James, 89.
Willson, John, 89.
Wilson, Mary, 48, 62.
Wilson, Robert, 62.
Wilson, William, 67.
Winchester, Nathaniel, 81.
Winslow, Nicholas, 89.

Winthrop, Frederic, house committee, 320.
Winthrop, Robert, fund, 294.
Wiscasset, 100, 103; features of, 155; academy, 161.
Wisdom, John, 89.
Wise, *Mrs.* Henry Augustus, letters, 1.
Wise, William, 89.
Wolkins, George, Gregerson, 345; on L. Swift, 6; committee on library, 239, 305; seizure of the *Liberty*, 239.
Women's Overseas Service League, medal, 186.
Wood, Cato, 89.
Wood, Cuff, 89.
Wood, John, 89.
Woodbery, Cornelius, 89.
Woodberry, Lemuel, 89.
Woodman, Alice Bradford, 338.
Woodman, Benjamin, 89.
Woodman, Cyrus, 2.
Woodman, Daniel, 89.
Woodman, Mary, gift, 2.
Woodwell, Gideon, 89, 130.
Woodwell, Gideon, Jr., 89.
Wooster, David, 71; letter, 72.
Worcester, bounty to recruits, 361.
Wray, ———, *captain*, 217.
Wright, William, 89.
Wright and Bale, 195.
Wrong, George Mackinnon, Corresponding Member, 340.

Y.

Young, John, 138.
Yser medal, 165.

Z.

Zuylestein, William Harvey, Earl of Rochford, 279.